Daily Report

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Nuclear Test Carried Out in Arkhangelsk
LD0609180888 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—An underground nuclear explosion with a yield within the range of 5 to 20 kilotons was carried out in the Soviet Union in Arkhangelsk region at 20.20, Moscow time, today.

The explosion was conducted in the interests of the national economy.

Karpov News Conference on ABM Review
OW0709042488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2120 GMT 6 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the USSR-U.S. treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile defense systems, talks were held in Geneva between representatives of both countries to review the treaty after another 5 years of operation. Commenting on the results of the meeting at a Geneva news conference, Soviet delegation head Karpov said:

[Begin Karpov recording] The Soviet delegation strove to ensure that confirmation of commitment to the treaty and the agreed outlines concerning ways to eliminate the concerns of both sides be reflected in a published joint statement or communique. Unfortunately, it was not possible to achieve this in view of the American side's reluctance to give practical consideration to the Soviet side's concerns, and its desire to reduce the entire review of the ABM Treaty's operation to adoption by the Soviet side of the U.S. demand for the dismantling of the as yet nonexistent Krasnoyarsk radar station.

The American side published a unilateral statement on the results of the discussion, which gives a subjective assessment of the existing situation.

On the question of the radar station under construction in the area of Krasnoyarsk, the Soviet side has reaffirmed that its purpose is the observation of space objects and that it is not subject to restrictions under the ABM Treaty. Despite this, the United States continues to attribute missile attack warning functions to it. These American assertions are not based on facts, but on presumptions and subjective assessments.

In order to exhibit goodwill and with a desire to remove the concern which has arisen on the U.S. side, we expressed readiness to dismantle the equipment at this station in such a way that this would be verifiable and would not evoke any doubts on the American side, if agreement on compliance with the ABM Treaty is reached in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

It was not our fault that it was not possible to achieve positive solutions at the talks on the issues reviewed. However, the Soviet side considers that joint efforts aimed at finding fundamental solutions can be continued, and we shall facilitate this. [end recording]

Zhukov Discusses Need for Arms Cuts
PM0609145788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "Common-Sense Logic"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It is now obvious that the new spiral in the arms race in the late seventies and early eighties was insanely expensive for both sides and did not increase anyone's security.

As the U.S. scientific journal BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS recently wrote, during R. Reagan's period of office the U.S. military machine has literally ruined the country, consuming up to $300 billion per year. The United States, which was the richest country in the world, is now up to its ears in debt.

For their part, seven eminent U.S. figures—former Defense Secretaries H. Brown, M. Laird, and J. Schlesinger, former Treasury Secretaries M. Blumenthal and W. Simon, former Secretary of State C. Vance, and former Federal Reserve Board Chairman P. Volcker—have issued a collective statement to the effect that the "chronic budget deficit and the rapid rise in the foreign debt have undermined the country's power."

The new growth in military spending also had a serious effect on the Soviet economy. Thus a vicious circle was formed, from which—it seemed to many—there was no way out.

A way out was nonetheless found when, following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the Soviet Union put forward the specific concept of new political thinking and backed it up with specific initiatives. The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that is under way, the joint Soviet-U.S. research at test ranges in the United States and the USSR that is clearing the way to the end of nuclear tests, the continuing Geneva talks on strategic arms cuts and the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, and the preparations under way in Vienna for talks on conventional armed forces cuts in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals are all hopeful signs.

Looking further ahead, Soviet experts are already seeking reliable ways of safeguarding security under conditions whereby the opposing political systems will only have available to them the military forces which would be needed for defense, but which would be insufficient for offensive operations. In this new situation the age-old "role" of the armed forces would change fundamentally: They would be intended not to wage war but to prevent war.

The ideas put forward in the recently published USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Economy and International Relations' "Yearbook"—which, incidentally, is in no way inferior to similar publications in the West in terms of the breadth of its information or the depth of its research—are of considerable interest in this regard.

The "Yearbook" analyzes the question of what changes should be made to the opposing sides' military doctrines in the new situation.

Soviet scientists stress that the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries proceed on the basis that military doctrines have two interrelated and interdependent aspects—the sociopolitical aspect and the military-technical aspects. It is the sociopolitical aspect that determines the defensive nature of the doctrines of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries: It predetermined the rejection of first-use of nuclear weapons and of attacking anyone in general, it rejected the possibility of winning a nuclear war and the desire for military superiority, and it dictated the importance of maintaining equilibrium and sufficiency of defense potentials.

These provisions, which are consonant with the new thinking, now need to be more fully embodied in the military-technical sphere of the doctrine—it is a question of the practice of military building and the development of operational and tactical principles. This is all the more important if one bears in mind—as the "Yearbook" stated—that the "exceeding by military potentials of the bounds of reasonable defense requirements is inevitably seen by other countries as an indicator of aggressive intentions that outweighs any political commitments and statements. Such a situation arouses distrust and suspicion and creates political tension."

A comparative analysis of the two sides' military doctrines has already begun during the developing contacts between the military leaders of the USSR and the United States. Needless to say, it is a difficult matter to compare the doctrines—all the more so as there is no historical precedent for this. But life itself requires that both sides' intentions be made abundantly clear.

One thing is clear for the moment: The switching of military doctrines to purely defensive purposes and, moreover, to the prevention of war, can only be successfully carried out on the basis of the strictest reciprocity.

Common-sense logic dictates the need for an abrupt change in military thinking. As soon as everyone realizes that war in the nuclear-missile age would be tantamount to suicide, we must implement through joint efforts the principle that stems from this realization: The fewer weapons there are, the more reliable mankind's security will be.

Perfilyev Holds Moscow News Conference 6 Sep

Pakistan's Bombing Claims

LD0609141988 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Reports about bombings of the Pakistani territory by Afghan planes are nothing but inventions. Some details confirming this were cited at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today by deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev.

Fragments of bombs discovered in the area of so-called bombing do not make it possible to establish the origin of the bombs. There are no evidences of the national belonging or type of planes either. A person who had allegedly been killed in the bombing was buried prior to the arrival of an inspection group, that is several hours after the "bombing". And a number of persons "wounded in the bombing" had been discharged from a hospital before the inspection group could meet them, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Remarkable also is the discrepancy in the names of populated localities, alleged targets of the "bombing", given in the memorandum transmitted by the Pakistani Foreign Ministry on September 1 and those given in the local press on September 2 and later. The memorandum names two villages—Zaltat [name as received] and Mian Killi, whereas all reports of the Pakistani press mention only one village, and absolutely different one, Dazalak [name as received], that is situated only 35 kilometres away from the border, and not 79 kilometres.

The absence of concrete proofs of the "bombing", contradictoriness of the information given in documents of the Pakistani side, unconvincingness of the assertions of the local authorities give the reason for saying that this was a crude provocative action of the Pakistani authorities, said the deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. It is apparently aimed at distracting the attention of the world public from the continued violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Thus we see ever new confirmations that reports about bombings of the Pakistani territory are nothing but inventions, V. Perfilyev said. Meanwhile there are absolutely real facts that columns of 50-60 trucks loaded with arms and ammunition cross the Pakistani-Afghan border, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Supports Gulf Cease-Fire

LD0609133188 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—"Reaching a cease-fire agreement was evidence of the manifestation of state wisdom on the part of both Iran and Iraq", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

"The Soviet Union hopes that as wise an approach will be displayed by the leadership of both countries with regard to preventing the ceasefire to be thwarted. Firemen around the world know that any stop in putting out the fire enables it to flare out with fresh force", he said.

"The Soviet Union commends the efforts by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar at these talks, supports unreservedly his patient and consistent work with the sides to implement Security Council Resolution 598 in its entirety".

"In the Soviet Union they also follow closely the activity of other powers in that region and hold that the French Government's decision to recall its ships from the Persian Gulf goes in the right direction. In view of this, one would like to recall our statement to the effect that we are ready to withdraw our ships from the Persian Gulf if the United States acts likewise. We hope that a realistic and constructive approach to the problem will take the upper hand and events in that area will be developing in the direction of a further relaxation of tension", Perfilyev stressed.

"The peoples in the region link their hopes and peaceful plans for the future with the amelioration of the situation in the Gulf", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman went on. "All states, first and foremost the parties to the conflict, are duty bound to do everything depending on them to allow these hopes and plans to be realized, to rule out a relapse of war, not to let slip away the chance to channel the developments toward stronger peace and security in that area".

"For its part, the Soviet Union is ready to lend in every way support to the cause of attaining this goal which is cherished by all people", Perfilyev said.

On Nicosia Talks, Holkeri Visit

LD0609133088 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze sent a message of greetings to foreign ministers of non-aligned countries who gathered for their regular forum in Nicosia, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told Soviet and foreign journalists at a briefing today.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the hope that, replying on their rich experience in international affairs and acting in the spirit of unity and high responsibility, participants in the Nicosia forum will respond in a worthy way to imperatives of time and will embody their common will for peace and cooperation into decisions of intransient importance.

Vadim Perfilyev told journalists that on Monday, September 5, Soviet-Portuguese consultations on the coming 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly started at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that in line with an understanding reached the Soviet Union would be visited by Prime Minister Harri Holkeri of Finland on an official [as received] visit on September 12-17. He will be received by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Petrovskiy Remarks at UN Conference Cited

LD0509202788 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Speaking today at the opening of the roundtable conference on the future role of the United Nations in an interdependent world, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, conveyed the words of greeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the conference who wished "success to it in its responsible work which acquires special importance in the crucial moment of the development of international relations". The conference has been organized by the U.N. Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) together with the Soviet U.N. Association.

"We are witnessing the revival of the United Nations. Its peacemaking potentialities are expanding, and trust in its ideals and principles is strengthening", Petrovskiy said.

Enumerating the latest achievements of the world community, specifically, the settlement of regional conflicts, Petrovskiy emphasized that "the United Nations should not be an observatory for passively watching outbursts on the political horizon. It should be an effective instrument of warning about them and preventing them". He suggested that "an early warning network" for detecting potentially dangerous spheres in international socio-economic and military-political relations should be created under the U.N. aegis for drawing to them the attention of the world community.

The overall concern of the world community over ecological problems calls for speeding up the convocation of an international conference on natural environment and holding it before 1992.

Vladimir Petrovskiy called the attention to the creation of a "world information program whose most important tasks would be the shattering of the enemy image and the creation of a stable psychology of partnership".

Arbatov, Others Speak

LD0509163488 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"It is getting clear to more and more people in the world that the present-day realities call for a new political approach, and in this connection the United Nations Organization faces today new, ever more significant, global challenges", Academician Georgiy Arbatov said today at the opening of the roundtable conference on the future role of the United Nations in an interdependent world.

The conference that opened at the Moscow Centre of World Trade was sponsored by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) together with the Soviet U.N. Association. It is being attended by some 70 politicians, public figures and scientists from 33 countries who prepared 15 reports.

We are starting the conference whose success will be of much importance for humanity, Michel Doo Kingue, U.N. assistant secretary general and UNITAR executive director, said at the conference. The improved political climate in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as the understanding that a nuclear war will lead to the destruction of man, while regional conflicts arrest the progress of humanity are the factors that will promote the productive work of the roundtable conference.

Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR who made a report at the conference, pointed out that the policy of military and, in the first place, nuclear deterrence, had obviously exhausted itself. "The material, moral and psychological outlay brought about by the eternal fear of universal destruction is too high for humanity", he said. It is necessary to pass over to the deterrence exercised not by military and technical means, but through political and legal efforts, to the building of security on a qualitatively new foundation. In these conditions the world community is assigned a special role to play in working out reliable guarantees of security for a future nuclear-free world, in the firm establishment of everyday practices of giving priority to the law, to all-human moral values.

Vladimir Petrovskiy pointed out perceptible achievements of the world community in the normalization of conflict situations in the Middle East, in South East Asia, in Cyprus and Western Sahara and said that all that was the result of concrete actions of the U.N. member states, "of all those who fully realize that the present-day realities make it imperative that supreme, truly human interests, and not purely selfish considerations, should become a motive force today".

A message of greeting sent to UNITAR by U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar was read out at the opening of the roundtable conference.

Kamentsev Meets Third World Forum Participants
PM0509140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Problems of Economic Security"]

[Text] An international meeting took place in Moscow 22-26 August on problems of economic security. Scientists, politicians, and public figures from Africa, Asia, America, and Europe, as well as representatives of international organizations, took part in the meeting organized by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity Among the Countries of Asia and Africa together with SOUTH, the journal published by the Third World Foundation in London.

The meeting's final communique expresses the conviction that ensuring universal economic security is the most important element in the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security. All countries and international organizations, guided by the spirit of constructive cooperation now gaining a foothold in the international arena, must devote their efforts to improving world economic ties. The document notes the broad range of questions which could now be resolved if constructive actions were taken.

V.M. Kamentsev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received the organizers of the meeting on 26 August.

On the same day a news conference was held for Soviet and foreign journalists.

38th Pugwash Conference Debates Global Problems

Agreements, 'Heated Debates' Noted
LD0509113788 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—TASS commentator Sergey Staroselskiy writes:

The 38th Pugwash Conference that drew to an end in Dagomys, the Black Sea coast, has demonstrated anew scientists' responsible and unbiased approach to the global problems faced by modern civilization. The keynote of the reports at plenary sessions and discussions in working groups can be described by the words from the famous manifesto of Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein to remember about one's human self and forget everything else.

Positive shifts in the international political situation exerted great influence on the work of the present forum of the globe's best minds. The participants in the movement saw in the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles the first specific embodiment of their calls and aspirations, the first real step toward disarmament. In their unanimous opinion, this process should be continued. At issue, by the way, is not only nuclear but also conventional and chemical armaments, East-West relations.

The technical methods to verify compliance with the agreements reached assume an increasing importance. Speakers at the conference pointed out that the matter was not in exposing the opposite side of cheating. The new technical means of verification should become an instrument of trust and mutual understanding rather than cover-up and falsification. The participants in the Pugwash Movement see their task in achieving this.

The forum in Dagomys paid much attention to the problems of backwardness, hunger and poverty which become more and more awesome. Official statistics put the number of people annually dying of hunger at 13 million to 18 million. It is not enough to help developing countries with food and clothes, although it also is very important, scientists believe. It is necessary that funds be invested in the development of their economies and the current international order be changed, under which raw material, the main export item of the majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries, is sold for dirt-cheap and the goods needed by them are bought for prices which are three times as high.

The ecological situation in the world is the cause of serious concern for the Pugwash Movement. Speakers at the conference said that the efforts of science should be directed at developing alternative sources of energy, at a more effective utilization of the solar energy. The felling of trees, the "lungs of the globe", should also be stopped.

It would be wrong to think that the 38th Pugwash conference passed without heated debates and clashes of views. But truth is known to be born of argument.

Cable Sent to Gorbachev
LD0609145588 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Upon the conclusion of the 38th Pugwash Conference in Dagomys on the Black Sea coast, the council of the Pugwash Movement who gathered in Moscow adopted the final documents of the forum. It addressed to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev a message which was read out at today's news conference by Soviet scientist, Academician Vitaliy Goldanskiy. The message reads:

"The council of the Pugwash Movement expresses heartfelt gratitude to you for your warm welcome and approval of the efforts of the Pugwash Movement in its actvity on problems of peace, disarmament and development.

"All of us view the process of perestroyka taking place in the Soviet Union as the most positive contribution to international relations. The Russell-Einstein manifesto pointed to the need of new thinking 33 years ago. Due to your efforts new thinking becomes an actual fact today.

"We express the hope for an early conclusion of agreements on strategic arms reduction as an important step to the complete elimination of nuclear arms.

"The world is at crossroads. We come at last to realize that only by altering our views and values can we be able to resolve questions of war and peace, hunger and poverty, development and environmental protection. Indeed, the impending ecological catastrolphe coupled with the threat of nuclear war poses the greatest danger for our civilization.

"As scientists we are fully aware of our duty and responsibility in solution of complex problems facing all of us and express the hope for the ultimate victory of the forces of reason over insanity."

France, U.S. Scored for Chemical Arms

LD0409123788 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] At the Pugwash Conference held in the Soviet Union, the United States and France have been criticized for hampering the signing of the treaty banning chemical weapons fully and universally. The closed-door conference was attended by some 260 prominent scientists from 42 countries. A toxicologist from the German Democratic Republic, (Dr Karl-Heinz Loss), told Radio Moscow that the situation with a practically ready agreement has been complicated by the fact that the United States began producing binary weapons, and he added that the stand taken by France was also an obstacle on the way to signing the agreement.

It has stated that it will start destroying stockpiles of its chemical weapons only when the levels of those weapons in the United States and the Soviet Union are brought down to that of France. (Professor Herbert Markevich) from the Pasteur Institute of France, said he doesn't share the stand of his government which doesn't lead to positive results. As a medical man, he said, I'd like to say that poison substances upset the very mechanism of life and that is why chemical weapons are so dangerous to mankind. A chemist from Vienna University, (Dr Perter Martel), stressed that the politicians should do all they can to ensure a speedy conclusion of the treaty banning chemical weapons, especially since they have already been used in the Iran-Iraq war.

'Text' of Council Declaration

LD0609222388 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Follows the full text of the Dagomys declaration of the Pugwash Council ensuring the survival of civilization:

We live in an interdependent world of increasing risks. Thirty-three years ago, the Russell-Einstein manifesto warned humanity that our survival is imperiled by the risk of nuclear war. The familiar challenges identified in that manifesto and the 1982 Warsaw declaration of Nobel laureates remain as important as ever. But in the spirit of the Russell-Einstein manifesto, we now call on all scientists to expand our concerns to a broader set of interrelated dangers: destruction of the environment on a global scale and denial of basic needs for a growing majority of humankind. Without reducing our commitment to arms reduction and war prevention, we must recognize that environmental degradation and large-scale impoverishment are already facts and can lead to massive catastrophe even if nuclear war is avoided.

The present inequitable international economic order confines many countries to the crushing cycle of poverty and induces them to use environmentally destructive industrial and agricultural practices. When coupled with worldwide population growth, and excessive production and profligate consumerism in the industrial nations, this is pushing the planet toward disaster.

Today's pattern of increasing energy use is a key link in a dangerous web of international environmental problems. Among these are global climate changes, ozone depletion, acid deposition, and water pollution. These, combined with other potentially catastrophic effects, including deforestation, soil erosion, and mass extinction of species, reduce the earth's ability to support a growing population. The combined effect diminishes ecosystem functions in ways that will damage economies in the north and fatally undermine economies in the south.

These linked environmental problems affect all nations. They exacerbate international tensions and increase the risk of future conflicts through the impacts of sea-level rises, forced migrations, and persistent crop failures.

To survive, we must recognize that environmental degradation weakens the security of all. The challenge is to find ways to promote sustainable development of all regions in the world while reducing both military and ecological threats. Cooperation among nations, and effective organisations at the international, national, regional and local levels, are essential to maintain earth's life-support systems. Intense efforts must be made to foster a feeling of connectedness and cooperation and to correct economic injustices and promote trust.

The steps taken up to the present to halt environmental destruction have proved inadequate. Much stronger measures are required now. These include the development of alternative high-yield agricultural methods, while recognising the value of some traditional practices, in order to conserve scarce water and topsoil. They will also entail strict regulation of industry and land-use, and massive investment in environmentally sound practices, increased efficiency of resource use, deployment of

renewable energy technologies, poverty reduction, and population planning. Education must promote a shift toward lifestyles compatible with the preservation of our life-support systems. Global use of fossil fuels must be reduced. The 1987 Montreal protocol on ozone depletion must be strengthened to eliminate the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons. International support for reforestation must be increased dramatically. In this way, the planet may move toward a new and stable balance in which nature can withstand the impacts of human civilisation.

Conference Ends

LD0309193288 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Sochi September 3 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

For the first time in the 32 years of the history of the Pugwash Movement, its 38th conference which ended in the township of Dagomys on the Black Sea shore, took up the problems of ecology, backwardness, hunger and poverty in the world, apart from the traditional questions of disarmament.

Isn't this connected with the East-West thaw, in particular, with the conclusion of the treaty on elimination of Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles? Replying to this question of TASS correspondents, Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, and deputy chairman of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, said: "The INF Treaty and a pending agreement on a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, indeed, 'untied hands' of participants in the Pugwash meeting in Dagomys, enabling them to take up also other burning problems facing mankind, including foreign debts of the developing countries. A fall in prices for raw materials had a very negative influence on their economies. A decrease in currency revenues caused by this put many of these countries on the brink of bankruptcy. The aggregate foreign debt of the African countries alone totalled nearly 240 billion dollars by the start of 1988."

Anatoliy Gromyko also expressed concern over the problem of hunger in the world which annually takes the toll of between 13 and 18 million lives. This means that every three days the world witnesses a tragedy equal to Hiroshima in the number of casualties. "I hold that the Pugwash Movement is duty-bound to take up investigations into these problems and ways of their overcoming," said the scientist. "Thought-out actions of governments and joint efforts of mass organizations and scientists are also needed for this purpose."

Similar ideas were expressed by Indian scientists Balchandra Madchav Udgaonkar, member of the council and the Executive Committee of the Puwash Movement, who said that the new thinking which is mainly addressed, for the time being, to problems of disarmament and control (this is also true of the Pugwash Movement) should rise to understanding the questions of a new economic and political order. They come to the fore when the threat of a general military conflict decreases. Scientists should know the sentiments of society which wishes to have a future. Reason should be free of fear. It should exist in a world, not divided into individual cells assigned to definite peoples, noted the scientist.

Collegues of the Indian and Soviet scientists agree with their opinions. They are consonant with an idea expressed in a message by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the participants in the 38th Pugwash conference: "To win the campaign against dangers of a global scale, it is necessary that the world-wide approach overpower selfishness of private persons and special interests of some or other social segments, individual countries or alliances of states".

CSCE Delegates Work Toward Final Document

Paper Views Prospects

PM0209113488 London MORNING STAR in English 2 Sep 88 p 4

[Soviet Foreign Ministry Department for Humanitarian and Cultural Relations member Yuvenaliy Polyakov article: "Co-operation in Europe"]

[Text] The Vienna follow-up to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) has resumed its work. Having ended their traditional summer vacations members of the delegations of 35 countries have again arrived in the Austrian capital to complete their discussion of the final document.

The painstaking efforts of the delegations after months of debate have produced agreement on the majority of the problems discussed.

Delegates will discuss the few remaining disputed issues and reach a compromise. Their work is based on a draft final document submitted by a group of neutral and non-aligned countries in May.

In the military and political sphere they have agreed, in principle, that two types of talks should begin in the CSCE framework.

The first will be on cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals embracing 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

The second talks will be on simultaneous continuation of the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe—called Stockholm-2 at the Vienna meeting—to be attended by all 35 CSCE particpating states.

For the time being neutral and non-aligned countries will be regularly informed about the course of these talks.

The Warsaw Treaty countries consider it necessary to introduce into the agenda of Stockholm-2 the question of spreading confidence measures not only on ground forces, but also on air and naval forces, in the seas and oceans across Europe, and in its air space.

The NATO countries do not want to accept this proposal, but armed forces—whether ground, sea or air—are still armed forces, and many find the logic of our Western partners very strange. This is one of the stumbling blocks in the way of an all-European forum.

A major victory has been won in agreeing the principles of the draft final document. These now include a number of important provisions protecting the interests and sovereign rights of states.

In our view the delegations should be given credit for agreeing fundamental provisions with respect to national legislation and for the right of a state to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems and to establish its own laws and administrative rules.

The NATO countries insist that these provisions should be supplemented by a phrase about the "possibility of changing frontiers by peaceful means." But such a possibility implies a break-up of post-war political decisions on frontiers and is fraught with unpredictable consequences for Europe.

Naturally enough, the Soviet Union rejects this addition to the negotiated text on frontiers as provisions on the territorial integrity of states and peaceful settlement of disputes are about to be harmonised.

We consider important the agreement on the need for CSCE members to ensure that their laws, practice and policy should conform to their relevant commitments on international law.

The section of the draft agreement devoted to co-operation in the field of the economy, science, technology and the environment is satisfactory on the whole.

The reduction or elimination of any kinds of obstacles in the way of trade and the encouragement of the development of industrial co-operation, including the establishment of joint ventures, are included

Perestroyka and radical economic reforms which are making rapid progress in the Socialist countries open up vast opportunities for a new stage in the development of the entire system of East-West economic relations.

This will be enhanced by an all-European economic conference which has been planned, in principle, on the basis of proposals made by Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

For the time being however we have to state that there is no unanimity on this question. Regrettably, the US and some of its allies do not want to accept the formulations - proposed by the neutral sides - on trade and economic information, and oppose co-operation in machine-building and biotechnology.

Nor do they want the Vienna meeting to be followed by an all-European scientific forum.

The editing of the draft on co-operation in environmental protection has proceeded smoothly. To a certain extent this can be explained by a reduction in confrontation and also by the hard work of non-aligned and neutral nations, primarily Sweden, Finland and Austria.

The texts on shipments of dangerous waste and chemical substances and the bulk of texts on natural resources, flora and fauna have been agreed.

In the sphere of human rights and humanitarian co-operation - the most uphill stretch of the Vienna road - the delegations have managed to reduce considerably the number of outstanding issues.

Whole subsections on culture and education have been agreed.

Mutually acceptable formulations have been agreed in the subsections on human contacts and information, although seven or eight points here have yet to be resolved.

Of major importance for humanitarian co-operation in the constitutional framework are references in the draft document to the Helsinki principles of state-to-state relations, to national legislation and international instruments concerning human rights covenants.

At this round of the Vienna meeting, the delegations will consider the questions which still remain unresolved—on unimpeded travel of citizens through national frontiers; on reduction of time-limits on emigration on the grounds of secrecy; on transfer of duplication equipment and certain literature to other countries; and a few other issues.

Human rights and humanitarian issues, which have long been a source of East-West tensions, should become a subject of practical co-operation.

For the time being, however, the socialist countries, together with the non-aligned and neutral states on the one hand, and the NATO countries on the other, have different opinions on this matter.

Despite the existing differences mutually acceptable solutions to problems can be found provided that all sides display goodwill, flexibility and realism.

But formulations are not all important. What matters most is the political will of all participants to crown the Vienna meeting with important and well-balanced results in every area.

In that way a big step forward will have been taken from Helsinki and Madrid.

Kashlev, Austria's Mock Speak

LD0209231988 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna September 2 TASS—Alois Mock, vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of Austria, and heads of delegations of a number of countries who addressed today a plenary meeting of a session of representatives of the countries-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which is under way here urged all the participants in the session to display a most constructive attitude for the work of the session to be completed in the coming months.

In conditions when a major part of the text of a final document has been coordinated already it is necessary to concentrate efforts on the quest for compromises on some problems that remain to be resolved and on specifying a vast program of all-European activities in the military-political, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres planned for the coming years. Yu. Kashlev, head of a Soviet delegation, said that the pace of their work should meausre up to the final stage of the meeting so that all-European talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments, as well as talks on the expansion of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe could be started this year.

Kashlev Interviewed on Tasks

LD0309150188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] After a brief technical break, the all-European meeting of representatives of the countries which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has resumed its work in Vienna, the Austrian capital. What has to be accomplished in the remaining time by the delegations of these countries at the Vienna meeting? When can one expect results from this all-European forum? We telephoned these questions to Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation. Here is the answer he gave:

[Begin Kashlev recording] The overwhelming majority of the participants at the Vienna meeting regard its present round to be the final and concluding one. In the last few weeks of its work a fairly high pace of agreement on a draft final document was achieved. A brief 3-week technical break was required in August for the delegations to be able to consult with their own capitals. On 29 August work was resumed. To date, it is considered here that no less than 90 percent of the text of the final document has been agreed, and some very important sections, such as, for instance, those on human rights and on questions of military security in Europe, are very close to being 100 percent agreed.

There are a number of issues that have not yet been agreed in the section on humanitarian cooperation—the so-termed Third Basket—and there are problems that have not been agreed in the Second Basket, namely the section on the problems of trade, economic, scientific, technological and ecological cooperation. Agreement also has to be reached on the specific agendas and the times and places for holding an extensive series of all-European consultations that are set to take place in Helsinki 1992 after the Vienna meeting and before the next all-European meeting. Over the 3 years over 10 large-scale all-European forums are scheduled. Two will be devoted to military problems. Talks will be continued on measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe as a continuation of the well-known Stockholm conference. All 35 participating states will be holding these talks. New talks will also begin on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. They will be held by 23 participating states, 16 of which belong to NATO and 7 to the Warsaw Pact. Undertakings are also scheduled in the field of economics and ecology, and an extensive program is being drawn up in the humanitarian sphere.

This is the firt time in the all-European process that so much has been planned to be accomplished and has already been agreed on concerning humanitarian issues, that is, on issues relating to cooperation in the sphere of culture, information, contacts between people, reunification of families, and tourism. About five large-scale all-European undertakings in this sphere are scheduled to take place in the next few years. They include an information forum in London, an all-European seminar in Krakow on preserving the cultural heritage of our continent, and several conferences on contacts between people and on human rights. There is a great amount of work, but it is for a very important cause. The prevaling general mood is in favor of completing agreement on all this program, and the final document which will appear as a result of our work. The mood is such that we should of course like to complete the work of the Vienna meeting in October at the foreign ministers' level of all 35 countries. Indeed, it was at this level that the Vienna meeting opened. Then we should like, by the end of the current year, to get down to implementing this extensive program in all the spheres of all-European cooperation, which we are at present in the process of completing. [end recording]

Galvin Set on Talks From 'Position of Strength'
PM3108113988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Zyubanov "Rejoinder": "Open Your Eyes, General..."]

[Text] West Berlin, 20 Aug—John Galvin, supreme commander of NATO Allied Forces in Europe, recently paid a visit to West Berlin. Despite the private nature of the visit, he still found time for a news conference to acquaint local journalists with his political views.

Of course, he too is in favor of continuing the dialogue on disarmament, but only on the condition that "Western might" is preserved. In other words, he is in favor of talks from a position of strength. He does have an explanation for this futile approach. According to J. Galvin, "nothing has changed yet" on the other side, that is, in the Warsaw Pact countries. It seems that he is "hearing a lot of new ideas but not actually seeing any of them."

"But look what has been done!" one Western journalist, flabbergasted by this statement, rejoined.

Yes, evidently action does not count for very much the way the NATO general sees it. But perhaps he should simply open his eyes and take a good look around him? It seems that the general has not seen the text of the document from the Berlin Political Consultative Committee conference in May 1987 "On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact States." He has also failed to take into account the statement by the most recent Political Consultative Committee conference in Warsaw, where the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members offered some far-reaching proposals on disarmament.

J. Galvin has his own attitude toward disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. He is in favor of definitely preserving and modernizing NATO nuclear weapons. He also likes chemical weapons. "As far as I am concerned, I would be happy to see the stockpiling of chemical weapons in Europe," the general said.

The general is behind the times and does not wish to see the changes taking place in the world. He is set on the policy of acting from a position of strength and will not budge.

Orekhov Reviews Week's International Events
PM0509141488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Boris Orekhov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] The past week saw the 25th anniversary of the commissioning of the direct communications line between the Soviet Union and the United States for use by the two countries' leaders in emergencies. In addition to the "hot line," another direct channel of communications was set up in 1987—centers for reducing the nuclear danger in the United States and the USSR. "These measures," a White House statement says, "supplement our efforts to reach an accord on deep, equal, and effectively verifiable reductions in the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. These efforts will considerably promote international stability and strengthen the foundations of peace."

A fair assessment, words that merit approval. They fit very well into the developing Soviet-U.S. dialogue that has become one of the main distinctive features of our time. This dialogue, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, the emergence of the possibility of unblocking the Iran-Iraq conflict, and the signs of progress in the settlement of other conflict situations herald a warming of the world political climate. This process must be stimulated and continued in every way. But is everyone ready to do so?

Food for Thought [subhead]

A report that offers serious food for thought at once comes to mind. I am talking about public statements by responsible politicians, from which it is possible to judge what yardsticks and what approaches the West is using in its view of relations with our country. But before studying their nature, I would like to make a small digression. We have all witnessed the firm and rightful establishment in our political vocabulary of the concept of the new political thinking. This new approach to the resolution of international problems and the formation of our foreign policy as proclaimed by our country and our leadership is becoming increasingly widespread in the world. But are my colleagues the international affairs journalists using this now popular expression too often, and is it always appropriate?

I will allow myself to ask another question: Do we not sometimes pass off our wishes as reality? Do we not try—I am talking about international observers of various ranks and status—to zealously seek out signs of the new, including innovations in political thinking, where in fact there is no hint of them? Of course, the new thinking is manifested increasingly frequently in various forms of international practice. But—and this too is no secret—it is expressed most often by those same politicians who even before were reputed, in our journalistic "pecking order," to be progressive and sensible. But what about those who declared the Soviet land to be the "evil empire," those who applauded such statements, who dream of the collapse of socialism and the failure of its foreign policy? To what extent are their way of thinking and their actions subject to the influence of the new political thinking?

After studying, for instance, the U.S. President's speech at the Republican convention in New Orleans or a more recent speech of his—the traditional radio address to his fellow countrymen a week ago—you can only shrug: A vast distance still separates them from a realistic assessment of world processes. Listening to the U.S. President, all the changes and events of a positive nature that have occurring in recent years and are happening in the world today are to the credit of the Reagan administration's policy of "peace from a position of strength." Only if the Americans continue this policy, the U.S. President says, does a bright future await the world.

Ronald Reagan is the leader of the U.S. Republican Party. And it would be surprising if the thoughts he voices did not coincide with what is set forth in the party's fundamental document—its platform, adopted in New Orleans on 16 August. It says, for instance: "America's determination and will, combined with the consistent assistance of our European allies, made it possible to bring the Soviets to talks and achieve weighty reductions in nuclear arms." Or another quotation: "The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanstan... is the direct result of the Republicans' policy known as the 'Reagan doctrine': our determination to give weighty assistance to people who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees under the yoke of oppression with the support of the Soviet Union. The granting of support to the freedom fighters combined with an unbiased approach to talks will be a model of our rebuttal of Marxist expansionism in any region of the globe."

And in conclusion one more quotation that appears highly principled: "We share the common commitment to survival and peaceful rivalry, but the Reagan-Bush administration has proved that dialogue and collaboration can bring success only if this policy is pursued from a position of strength." I think this premise merits a very attentive look, since it reflects an unusual approach, to put it mildly, to the question of the need to struggle for mankind's survival. Its meaning is as clear as day: "Yes, we are for survival and coexistence, but on the condition that we exercise diktat."

This ossified view of the world, which today is rapidly changing and requires new political approaches, is not, unfortunately, the monopoly of U.S. leaders. In Hamburg, for instance, FRG Defense Minister Rupert Scholz was addressing future Bundeswehr officers. Citing articles that appeared in the Soviet press recently containing criticism of a number of foreign policy decisions by our country's leadership in the past, he concluded that "their (that is, Soviet—editor) foreign and military policy over the last 20 years was wrongly oriented, and remarks on disproportions and asymmetrical disarmament show how right our security measures were and are." "Our measures"—that, as you know, means the West's buildup of military might in all parameters, interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, and help and support for reactionary forces and regimes.

A turn toward the new thinking can hardly be expected of the authors of such statements. But the West German minister's remarks also prompt another thought. Among our journalists today there are many people who are fond of black and white pictures, so to speak, with black tones prevailing. They set about our foreign policy too, with obvious satisfaction, not in the least worried by the fact that in commenting on the very same events and decisions in the recent past that is still fresh in our memory, they used exclusively rosy hues in their work. I think they should be the first to ponder on the West German minister's remarks.

But that is by the way.

Now let us go back across the ocean. In the leading capitalist country of the world, overshadowing all other political events, the eleciton race is entering the homestretch, and the struggle for the White House is becoming increasingly tough, as the press there puts it.

Last week the scales once again tipped in favor of G. Bush, who, according to NBC television, "is rapidly gaining strength."

I will not go into detail about the election race, but will leave that up to our correspondents in the United States; I will only draw attention to the assessments of American specialists, many of whom think that the current presidential campaign will, by all appearances, be the "dirtiest" of all the recent campaigns, because rumors, scandal, and other instruments from the two contenders' arsenals of "dirty tricks" are already in wide circulation.

The candidates are conducting a "dirty campaign" and avoiding any serious comparison of their viewpoints on the most important political problems. Why? THE NEW YORK POST, for instance, believes that it is easier to do this than to try to discuss in public the complex issues of America today. The newspaper's assessment is evidently close to the truth.

Two whole months still remain before the finishing line in the U.S. election race—time enough to overturn all predictions or conjectures. Ultimately it does not matter very much specifically who moves into the White House. What matters is what his policy is. And that is often far removed from the promises and—most importantly—expectations.

Stop the "Caravans of Terror" [subhead]

Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil has sent a message to the UN secretary general. The Republic of Afghanistan proposes the convocation as soon as possible of a conference of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the USSR, and the United States, with the participation of the UN secretary general, to discuss

problems of the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These agreements, which were drawn up as a result of many years of persistent labor, the message says, should be implemented in full and without conditions.

There is every reason for this appeal. The Geneva agreements are being violated, increasingly openly. The "caravans of terror"—that is the name that has been given in Afghanistan to the secret shipments of weapons into the country from across the border. The caravans follow the mountain tracks from Pakistan and Iran. Their packs contain "Stinger" and "Blowpipe" antiaircraft missile devices and ammunition for heavy weapons and small arms. A great quantity of weapons and ammunitions has been shipped into the Provinces of Nangarhar, Parvan, Herat, and Baghdis in recent days.

Remember the words from the American Republicans' platform about giving support to the "freedom fighters"? Here is that support, in its vile reality. Tomorrow the U.S. missiles obtained from Pakistan and Iran and launched by the rebels will shoot down another civilian aircraft in the Afghan skies, smash to smithereens an adobe school building on the outskirts of Kabul, and bring forth groans from the people who have lost their nearest and dearest.

The Republic of Afghanistan is going through difficult days. The main task facing the country is the acceleration of the process of restoration of peace on Afghan soil. President Najibullah never tires of saying this. The task is not an easy one. And even a blind man could see that the opposition to the people's regime has set itself a task that is formulated unequivocally—to thwart the process of settlement and turn the course of events in a direction to suit itself, by force of arms. Recently it has even attempted to sieze individual provinces with a view to proclaiming a "provisional government" there. That happened in Jalalabad, Qandahar, and—quite recently—Konduz.

In Konduz, armed opposition detachments, storming the city, killed civilians, destroyed homes, and plundered houses. Some 200 schoolchildren were taken away into the mountains by the rebels, as hostages. These tragic events are one recent example of what results from the outside encouragement for the forces of opposition operating within Afghanistan. The attacks on Jalalabad, Qandahar, and Konduz were cut short by the Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces. But where is the guarantee that they will not be repeated tomorrow and the next day? The people's power in Afghanistan is confident of itself, its strength, and its ability to oppose any military onslaughts by the "irreconcilables." But each new sortie by them means more victims, more destruction, human blood shed in vain. How can the price of that blood be measured?

It is reported from Washington that the United States intends to expand the scale of weapons shipments to Afghanistan. And this at a time when its duty as a guarantor country for the implementation of the Geneva agreements is to promote the sides' fulfillment of of their commitments. The Soviet Union is fulfilling its commitments. Accusations of the violation of these commitments that came from the U.S. State Department the other day are groundless. This is a reference to the use of aircraft from USSR territory in the Konduz region, in the course of the aforementioned events, to give urgent support to a Soviet military subunit which was in the region and was fighting superior forces of the armed opposition. These actions were taken with the consent of the Afghan Government. Or does the U.S. State Department expect the Sovei Union to leave its soldiers to be torn to pieces by frenzied rebels?

A conference of leaders of leading political parties in Afghanistan was held in Kabul last Thursday. It expressed support in principle for the policy of national reconciliation and the need to cease hostilities and commence talks between the warring factions.

The people of Afghanistan are tired of war. Responding to the policy of national reconciliation and pinning their own personal hopes and aspriations on it, refugees continue to return home from Pakistan and Iran. It is not yet a torrent, but in just 2 days of last week, for instance, 450 Afghans returned from Pakistan to Qandahar and Nangarhar alone. The state gives every assistance to those returning. The longing for home is overpowering people's fear of repressions, with which people across the border intimidated them for a long time. They are returning home. And that is the main, real sign that the future belongs to the policy that the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is stubbornly and persistently pursuing, the policy of national reconciliation.

United States & Canada

Paper Cites Bush on Support for SDI

PM0509130988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev report: "Nodding to Moderates, Bowing to Right-Wingers"]

[Text] Washington—It seems that the range of issues linked with disarmament and... the arms buildup is moving from the sidelines to the center of the Republican election campaign. First and foremost, this applies to issues that relate in one way or another to the "Star Wars" program.

Yesterday IZVESTIYA reported a statement made by Dan Quayle, the Republican vice presidential candidate, who was campaigning for the rejection of the Soviet-U.S. treaty limiting antiballistic missile defense systems. Another statement followed a day later—from the presidential candidate this time. In an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST, G. Bush said that he remains a firm and consistent supporter of SDI and advocates the holding of tests of a "strategic defense system" in space.

This was the explanation that many people had expected from the vice president—above all, representatives of the Republicans' conservative right wing, who were considerably worried by Bush's previous interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES. In that interview the contender for the highest elective office was quite restrained in his enthusiasm for SDI, and this provoked undisguised concern among right-wingers.

Then George Bush made things clear: "I think that my position," he told a WASHINGTON POST reporter, "has been consistent, and I have not altered it in any way."

The essence of the accusations leveled by right-wingers against the vice president after THE NEW YORK TIMES interview was that Bush had backed away from Reagan. The right wing's fears now seem to have been banished, and this has been facilitated to a considerable extent by a vigorous behind-the-scenes campaign. According to press information, this campaign involved former Senator John Tower, who is being talked of as a possible defense secretary in the Bush administration—providing, of course, it is elected. The former senator is said to have held explanatory talks with those people whose support Bush is particularly interested in and whose readiness to give that support was in question to a certain extent.

But the SDI problem and the issues bound up with that program are not confined purely to the framework of the election efforts of the candidate himself and officials from his immediate entourage. Marlin Fitzwater, the President's personal spokesman, issued a statement Wednesday that struck me as being fraught with far-reaching consequences. At a briefing in California, where Reagan is currently residing, Fitzwater said that if the Soviet Union does not abandon the Krasnoyarsk radar it will be difficult, if not completely impossible, to achieve any agreements in the future—be they on strategic nuclear arms or space arms.

The presidential spokesmen repeated this phrase three times in different ways.

What lies behind this? What lies behind the accusations that are again being leveled at the Soviet Union, even though the Krasnoyarsk radar issue seemed to be over and done with long ago? It seems to me that there are at least two explanations. First, such accusations are a tactical ruse. In resorting to them, the administration is trying to shirk all responsibility for the development of events that would prevent agreement from being reached on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear arms before Reagan leaves the White House.

Second, it is a concession to those right-wingers who insist on pushing ahead with SDI development, who insist on the speediest deployment of those elements of the "Star Wars" program which make it possible to develop existing technology, and who see any agreements—past and future—as unnecessary barriers in the way of SDI.

IZVESTIYA Views Presidential Campaign

PM0609155088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev report: "The United States: The Contenders Exchange Blows: The Decisive Stage in the Election Marathon Has Begun"]

[Text] New York—How bizarre and strange are the twists and turns of election marathons in America! Only 3 weeks ago the Democrats' candidate Michael Dukakis was regarded as the undisputed leader in the race: Some polls gave him an advantage of 17 percent over his rival, Republican candidate George Bush. But only 3 weeks later Bush is pressing Dukakis, and this is happening even on the Democratic candidate's "home ground"—in the state of Massachusetts.

The fluctuations in the two candidates' popularity ratings are enormous. But this very fact, in the view of Andrew Kohut, president of the Gallup research organization, "is evidence that the race is evenly matched."

The decisive 9-week section of this race began, in accordance with tradition, on Labor Day, which fell on 5 September this year. The candidates started in different ways. Dukakis in Detriot, America's automobile capital; Bush in California. The choice was practical: Dukakis must win over the "blue collar" Democrats, that is, those workers who voted for the Republicans, for Reagan, in 1980 and 1984; Bush concentrated his efforts on the

state that supplies the biggest number of electoral votes and where, according to the estimates of many political experts, the fate of the elections will ultimately be decided.

In the next 9 weeks the candidates will many times travel to places where their rival has already been: Both Bush and Reagan, who will take part in at least two election events a week from October, will concern themselves with the "blue collar" workers; and the Democrats' team certainly will not ignore California. Meanwhile in that state, however, according to a poll carried out by the CHICAGO TRIBUNE newspaper, Dukakis is just ahead of Bush, but that "just" is so small that it can be disregarded. There is an interesting distribution in the four other states that are regarded, like California, as key states: In New York Dukakis has a clear superiority, in Florida Bush has it; in Illinois the preference, albeit insignificant, is given to the Democratic candidate; and in Texas it goes to the Republican, who is 10 percent ahead of his rival there.

The situation in Texas must cause considerable concern for Dukakis and his advisers: They expected that after the nomination as vice presidential candidate of Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who represents Texas on Capitol Hill, the Democratic team's prestige would be considerably strengthened in that state. But this has yet to happen.

In fact, much is not happening as authoritative experts were predicting only a few weeks ago. Factors are coming into play which were either not taken into account at all, or were not given proper weight. Here is an example: A poll organized by the Bush campaign—and polls that are carried out specifically for the information and guidance of the candidates themselves are prepared with particular thoroughness—showed that the number of voters who like the Republican vice presidential candidate is twice the number who do not accept him. Yet Senator Dan Quayle has not changed at all since he was nominated, nor have the problems relating to certain dubious chapters in his past been eliminated. It seems to me that a psychological factor is operating here, the willingness of the average American to sympathize with those for whom the expression "underdog" applies in American English, that is, the man they "set the dogs on," whose strength appeared to be waning and who could not have coped with the situation without help from outside.

And Quayle was the "underdog." Because of his provincialism, his extreme youth, his limited knowledge on the questions he will have to tackle as vice president, and, lastly, his past, the press and Democratic politicians handled the senator very harshly, and as a result they provoked a reaction of sympathy and compassion in the voters.

There is another unexpected factor: The combination of words "President Dukakis" grates on the ears of many Americans, who are used to the idea that the main post in the White House is always, with a single exception, held by a man with a "more euphonious" surname, an Anglo-Saxon one. This man is Greek by extraction. And paradoxically enough, I have noticed smirks on the faces of people who not only sympathize with the Democrats or are members of the Democratic Party, but also, by virtue of their education and intellectual development, would not be suspected in the least of such "ethnic"—to put it mildly—sentiments.

A part is also played, of course, by the fact that the thrust of the sharp attacks Bush has recently resorted to against his rival impresses the ordinary voter. As the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS observed, the Republican candidate skillfully depicts the Democratic candidate as "soft on crime, weak on defense, and unpatriotic." Lack of patriotism is a particularly serious accusation, in terms of its possible consequences on the development of the voters' mood.

All this must be taken into account by Dukakis, who has now markedly stepped up his campaign and strengthened its leadership by bringing in new people, experts in the sphere of election strategy and tactics.

So the starting signal was given on Monday. Everything that happened in many previous months, in the period of the primary elections and the parties' national conventions, instantly lost its significance in the face of what the next 9 weeks will bring.

IZVESTIYA Profiles Michael Dukakis

PM0609143588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Profile of Michael Dukakis by A. Darchiyev, candidate of historical sciences, under the general heading: "Candidates for the Presidency"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] An American sociologist has contended and proved, with references to public opinion polls from many previous years, that the majority of voters are determined in their attitudes, sympathies, and antipathies toward the presidential candidates by the time Labor Day (the first Monday in September) comes around. In any case, by the beginning of September the election campaign is into the final stretch. The last few days are distinguished by a heightening of the lunges and ripostes, accusations and counteraccusations exchanged by the two main candidates which will only increase in intensity as time goes by.

Michael Dukakis, governor of the state of Massachusetts, entered the U.S. national political arena comparatively recently. At the beginning of this year he was just one of six Democratic contenders claiming the right to be nominated as the party's candidate for the post of president. However, by spring Dukakis had overtaken his rivals. The only person who was able to offer any significant opposition to him was the black minister, J. Jackson, representing the left wing of the Democratic

Party. At the party convention held in Atlanta 18-21 July, all the contenders who had participated in the election campaign expressed their support for Dukakis. For tactical reasons he selected L. Bentsen, a conservative senator from the state of Texas, as his partner in the presidential elections.

Public opinion polls show that Dukakis' popularity is no lower and, in some cases, is actually higher than that of his rival, Vice President G. Bush. At first glance this may seem strange, as even 6 months ago the widely held opinion was that, as a representative of the liberal political elite of the country's northeast region, Dukakis would not be able to secure the necessary support from the voters. Now, it seems, the situation has changed. Some observers explain this by saying that the pendulum of political life has moved toward the center, the "wave of conservatism" has died down, and the desire for change has grown stronger in public opinion. Against this background, Bush's platform, imbued with the spirit of Reaganism, looks like an appeal to the past, whereas Dukakis' platform, promising Americans "new approaches" and "new solutions," looks to the future.

However, Dukakis' critics from the Bush camp point out that the nature of the measures he proposes is still unclear. It is certainly true that the platform adopted by the party convention consists of a mere 5,000 words, is very laconic, and contains only general propositions with a minimum of specific pledges. The aim of this is to attract the broadest possible range of voters with the most diverse views. These tactics, in the opinion of THE NEW YORK TIMES, also have their negative aspects because the "unsatisfied curiosity" concerning the nature of Dukakis' positions will constantly increase. "Perhaps empty suitcases are easier to carry, but they nevertheless remain empty," the newspaper said ironically.

The entire course of the presidential campaign this year still shows that, with Dukakis and Bush both with an even chance, the candidate's personality and his image in the eyes of the electorate will be very important.

On a propaganda level, the fact that Dukakis comes from a family of Greek immigrants is an unquestionable plus as far as he is concerned. Dukakis' father was able to climb the U.S. social ladder from unskilled worker to highly successful doctor, thereby realizing the "American dream." The path Dukakis has taken in life fully accords with the traditional virtues required of a politician in the United States—hard work, a spirit of enterprise, and loyalty to family ties. The voter is offered the image of the "positive American hero" who has a prosperous family, is a self-made man, and whom it is "simply impossible not to approve of." Dukakis' wife, Kitty, is Jewish and comes from a musician's family (and this, people are pointing out in the United States, will draw the votes of the corresponding segment of the U.S. electorate). They have three children.

The epithets "efficient" and "competent" are most frequently used in the press to describe Dukakis, and he has gained the reputation of being a "technocrat." From a psychological viewpoint this definition is primarily an indication of Dukakis' precise, smooth, functional way of thinking and style of political leadership. In solving problems that arise he prefers a pragmatic approach and a spirit of experimentation free of ideological dogma. Dukakis has consistently stuck to these principles in the different stages of his political career. He was a member of the Massachusetts legislative assembly from 1962 and was first elected governor in 1974. Since his failure in 1978 he has twice been re-elected to this post—in 1982 and 1986.

Dukakis' opponents stress that his political career has never transcended one state. His lack of experience in national political activity, particularly in the foreign policy sphere, is one of the main targets for Bush's associates. In order to somehow compensate for this, Dukakis is going all out to propagandize the successful economic policy of his state's administration. During his years as governor the Massachusetts economy has emerged from a serious crisis, unemployment and taxes have been cut, and the budget deficit has been eliminated. Critics believe, however, that the "Massachusetts miracle" could have happened without Dukakis, by virtue of the favorable conditions that have taken shape in the state.

Dukakis' approach to the solution of socioeconomic problems is on the whole typical of the new generation of Democrats who succeeded the old party leaders at the helm in the mid-eighties. Born in 1933, Dukakis is slightly older than the main body of "new Democrats," who, as a rule, are below the age of 50.

Dukakis is an advocate of flexibly combining the market mechanism and state regulation in priority areas of economic development. This primarily concerns structural changes in the U.S. economy and its transition to ultramodern technologies.

Dukakis feels it is essential to regulate the tax system in order to combat the enormous federal budget deficit. He is in favor of checking growth in military expenditure and eliminating a series of military programs—in particular the programs for the construction of the B-1 bomber and the MX and Midgetman missiles. In addition to this, Dukakis has described the "Star Wars" plans as "fanciful" and spoken in favor of confining SDI to research work only.

According to the polls, Dukakis can count on the support of the labor unions and racial-ethnic minorities—the Democrats' traditional buttress. At the same time he is also favored by representatives of the U.S. "middle class," people living in wealthy white suburbs, and Democratic voters in the southern states. Dukakis also has a solid financial base: He is funded by the Kennedy clan and by a number of influential American families of

Greek origin. More than $20 million has been collected under the leadership of the Boston financier R. Farmer. The cream of the Democratic intellectual elite has gathered around Dukakis.

Believing the Reagan foreign policy "mandate" to be "spent," Dukakis and his associates say that in the future the United States must combine elements of "toughness" with a more flexible, constructive approach to changes in the world.

Whereas the Republicans still place the emphasis on strong-arm military methods to back up their foreign policy, Dukakis and other Democratic leaders attach fundamental importance to mobilizing the nonmilitary, economic, and scientific and technical components of U.S. national might.

It is characteristic that Bush constantly accuses Dukakis of "disregarding" national interests. Addressing the Republican Party Convention, he called Dukakis a "defeatist" who is to blame for U.S. national might being threatened with a gradual "decline." The two candidates' different attitudes toward regional problems are lending an emotional intensity to the confrontation. Dukakis regards these problems as the result of local socioeconomic conditions rather than the product of "Moscow intrigues." "Aid to the contras," he says, "must be stopped." Dukakis is also in favor of more resolute measures with regard to the apartheid regime in the RSA.

Dukakis believes that the increased flexibility of Soviet foreign policy has become possible not as a result of "strong-arm" pressure from outside but is a consequence of the internal restructuring processes in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Dukakis has stated the need to strengthen the U.S. military machine. He favors close military-political cooperation with the NATO countries and also with the United States' "strategic" ally in the Near East—Israel. Dukakis believes that cuts in nuclear arms should be "compensated" for by building up and modernizing conventional weapons....

All of the U.S. press has noted Dukakis' innovative style and his efforts to seek new ways and means in domestic and foreign policy. But will this be enough to guarantee his victory in the November elections? No one can say this with any certainty—not even the most experienced political observers.

PRAVDA Marks 'Hotline' Anniversary

PM0509153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "Viewpoint": "Can You Hear Us?"]

[Text] An old Hollywood film includes the following scene: The U.S. President unsuccessfully tries to contact Moscow and warn the Russians that a U.S. military pilot, having been given wrong information, is flying toward their borders with an atomic bomb on board. "Hello, hello, can you hear me?" the President helplessly repeats over and over, but he cannot get through.... And the closing scene is a blackout, a nuclear catastrophe.

Although even at that time computers and other means of communication existed, the film was calling for human and personal contacts—they are more reliable than any modern equipment. This idea, transformed into reality, today still works for the good of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The other day was the 25th anniversary of the commissioning of a direct communications link between the USSR and the United States to be used by the two countries' heads of government in an emergency. The White House special statement on this event stated that the "'hotline,' although not often used, has allowed U.S. presidents to contact Soviet leaders with a view to reducing the risk of a conflict breaking out as a result of an incident, error, or misunderstanding."

This important communications channel has been upgraded over the years. Two additional lines using artificial earth satellites were set up and commissioned, yet another channel and a fast facsimile link were added to the existing system in 1986, and nuclear risk reduction centers were set up in the USSR and the United States last year. All these measures undoubtedly promote the security of both the USSR and the United States, as well as stabilizing the international situation as a whole.

However, the "hotline," which is so necessary in emergencies, cannot and should not replace extensive and constructive dialogue in Soviet-U.S. relations. The dynamic political dialogue between the U.S. Administration and the Soviet leadership in recent years has become an incentive for implementing the principles of the new political thinking.

Each of the four summits held since 1985 between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan has been a major event in world politics. As a result the world has become safer and our bilateral relations have reached an important new stage. Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow have made their own concrete contribution to the disarmament process, the removal of the nuclear threat, the easing of tension, and the strengthening of new approaches to the building of international relations.

Contacts between people of science and culture and ordinary working people serve as a great reserve for developing ties between the two countries. This is a feature of our time and a token of the democratization of interstate relations.

Yes, it is indisputable that we have moved on from the initial "hotline" channels. Yet it would be unforgivably complacent to beat the drum in celebration of this silver jubilee. Certain circles in the United States, and not only

there, are continuing to rely on force rather than dialogue and reason, and are mobilizing to halt the disarmament process and the growing trust among peoples.

Last summer the American sportswoman Lynn Cox swam between our countries in just 2 hours. But do all politicians have the "staying power" to do likewise? After all, it is time for everyone to realize that although we have different systems, different ways of life, and by no means identical views on many problems, we must learn, without disparaging the political and ideological distances, to live in peace and find ways of understanding each other. This is necessary for us and for all mankind. That is why it is so important for the "hotline" to be turned into a general, multithousand-channel switchboard between our peoples.

Hello, can you hear us?...

U.S. Constructing New Nuclear Submarine

LD0609100388 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] New York September 6 TASS—Sea Wolf is the latest modification of the Pentagon's mutli-purpose nuclear submarine which will be adopted for service by the U.S. Navy by 1994.

The construction of the first naval ship of this class will be launched this fall, the NEWSWEEK magazine reports.

According to the U.S. weekly, Sea Wolf will be the biggest U.S. multi-purpose submarine capable of developing a speed of more than 35 knots per hour and submerging to 700 metres.

The Pentagon is planning to put 30 such submarines into service.

Northeast Asia

Chebrikov Delegation Departs for Pyongyang

LD0609142788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] A Soviet party and government delegation led by Viktor Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, left Moscow for Pyongyang today to attend celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the DPRK.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, and other officials. In the farewell party was Kwan Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR.

Arrives 7 Sep

LD0709082388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0315 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Pyongyang, 7 Sep (TASS)—A Soviet party-government delegation led by V.M. Chebrikov [words indistinct] of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, arrived in Pyongyang today to take part in the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK.

The delegation was met at the airport by Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, and other officials. Among the welcoming party was G.G. Bartoshevich, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the DPRK.

DPRK Envoy Notes 'Contribution', Support

LD0609222888 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Looking back upon the way traversed over the years of people's power, the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) are rightfully proud of achievements in socialist construction, Kwan Hui-kyong, the ambassador of the DPRK to the USSR, said at a press conference here today.

He addressed Soviet journalists in view of the approaching 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the DPRK. The ambassador pointed out the contribution made by the Soviet Union, by the heroic Soviet Army to the liberation of his country from foreign yoke. The Korean people, he said, value the Soviet people's support which they had rendered and continue to render in the building of a new [words indistinct] cherish Korean-Soviet friendship. Journalists' attention was also drawn to the situation on the Korean peninsula and to the DPRK's [words indistinct] directed towards a peaceful reunification of the native land.

Those present were informed of a statement made by the DPRK Foreign Ministry in connection with the concentration of the Armed Forces of the United States, Japan and South Korea on South Korean territory on the plea of ensuring the security of the Olympic Games in Seoul. The DPRK views that as an action aimed at aggravating the situation in the region and at further increasing the risk of an outbreak of war.

Murakhovskiy, MPR Leader Meet on Economic Ties

PM0209134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Cordiality"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 31 Aug—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural, received here today V.S.

Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is head of a Soviet delegation which is here to participate in the 34th session of the Soviet-Mongolian intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

J. Batmonh was told about the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was a milestone in the life of Soviet society, and about the practical measures to implement its goals, outlined by the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum. An account was given of the course of restructuring and the results of the country's socioeconomic development since the 27th party congress.

During the conversation special attention was paid to questions of widening and deepening economic cooperation between the USSR and the MPR, improving its effectiveness, and continuing to introduce progressive new forms of bilateral ties. There was a discussion of a number of measures to step up the sides' collaboration in the sphere of agriculture and the processing industry, planning and capital construction, the fuel and energy complex, the mining industry, and some other sectors of the national economy.

J. Batmonh expressed a high opinion of the traditional fraternal friendship and the comprehensive fruitful cooperation between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples.

Participating in the meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality, were, on the Mongolian side: D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers; D. Molomjamts and D. Altangerel, members of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo; S. Lubsangombo, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo; S. Gungaadorj and P. Zhasray, deputy chairmen of the MPR Council of Ministers, and Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR; and on the Soviet side: V.A. Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy; A.N. Shchepetilnikov, minister of construction in the southern regions of the USSR; V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to Mongolia; and other officials.

The 34th session of the Soviet-Mongolian intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation opened here today in Government House. The Soviet delegation is headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian by B. Altangerel, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers.

Cooperation Talks End

PM0609101288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 3 Sep—The 34th session of the Soviet-Mongolian intergovernmental commission on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation finished its work here today.

It devoted the main attention to drawing up measures to increase the effectiveness of Soviet-Mongolian economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. Ways of implementing the general outline for the development of the two countries' economic ties in the period through the year 2005 were examined, particularly in the sphere of agriculture, light and food industry, the fuel and power complex, and the mining industry. It was noted that cooperation at the level of enterprises, associations, and organizations that have established direct production, scientific, and technical links on a contractual basis, as well as the setting up of joint enterprises, are very important ways of increasing the effectiveness of economic ties. The commission examined the course of work to expand the capacities of the joint Soviet-Mongolian "Erdenet" enterprise. The need to further expand border trade was stressed. Other questions of cooperation were discussed.

A protocol and also a number of intergovernmental agreements were signed on the basis of the session's results.

The Soviet delegation was headed by V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian by B. Altangerel, deputy chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers.

Mongolian Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow

PM0709095688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Mongolian Foreign Minister T. Gombosuren was in Moscow 2-4 September on his way to Cyprus to take part in a conference of foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries.

A friendly meeting took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry between USSR deputy foreign minister I.A. Rogachev and T. Gombosuren.

Kalinin Comments on Japan's Defense White Paper

OW0409114588 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] The Defense White Paper issued by Japan recently contains a number of allegations that fundamentally distort the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine. With regard to this, military commentator Kalinin notes the following:

This is the first time that allegations on the so-called Soviet military threat have appeared in Japan's Defense White Paper. They have appeared, albeit in different

forms, in the Defense White Papers before. However, this time the white paper clearly contains malicious criticism against the Soviet Union.

Last year, the Soviet Union officially pronounced its military doctrine, making public its views and stand on the question of war and peace. It was thought that such a step could have put a stop to all groundless rumors surrounding the matter, but as you can see, some people are pretending not to have noticed this step.

It is, therefore, worthwhile to mention here once again what the Soviet military doctrine is and how it is applied in practice.

Generally speaking, a military doctrine is regarded as a system of ideas concerning the purpose and nature of a potential war, the preparations made for the war, and the ways to carry out the war. When viewed in this light, it can be easily understood that a military doctrine is a guiding principle for wars. However, different from this view, the present Soviet military doctrine defines that the major goal of both the Soviet Armed Forces and the Soviet military policies is to prevent a war.

In further defining this goal, the doctrine states that unless the Soviet Union itself is subject to an armed attack, it will not, under any circumstances, launch an attack on a country first or ever resort to the use of nuclear arms first. In other words, it is a doctrine very defensive in nature as it clearly rejects the first strike option. This is very important because preemptive attack used to be regarded as a factor leading to victory in war.

The defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine is closely connected with the principle of maintaining a minimum military force and arms required for defense. As stressed in a resolution adopted at the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference held 2 months ago, all future efforts to build up defense in the USSR will be mainly directed toward improvement in quality. In other words, efforts will be made not to strengthen combat capability of the Soviet forces but to maintain military capability to prevent any military superiority over the Soviet Union. Moreover, another task lies in constantly downgrading the level of military confrontations. It goes without saying that an indispensable condition for achieving these tasks is to observe the principle of maintaining mutual and equal security for both sides.

What I want to emphasize here is that all these propositions stated in the Soviet military doctrine are not merely statements—they are actually put into practice. In its content, the Soviet military doctrine has always been of a defensive nature, but in form, it has been one incorporating both defensive and offensive courses of action. Now, even military strategies have been revised so that they may be solely defensive in nature. Furthermore, the method of training soldiers has been particularly changed, and perestroyka has been launched for the structure of the Soviet forces.

Now, it should be mentioned here that the Soviet Union has already started the actual abolition of missiles in accordance with the INF, the USSR-U.S. treaty on complete abolition of intermediate-range nuclear arms. Preparations are in progress for signing a treaty for 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. The pullout of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan is now being carried out. Part of the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Mongolia last year. Restrictions have been imposed on the number as well as the scale of military exercises in various places. Foreign experts are now allowed to visit various Soviet facilities, including a nuclear test site in the Semipalatinsk area, a military scientific facility in (Thikhanu), and the missile test sites in Saryozek and Kapustin Yar. In the past, all these facilities were held as [word indistinct]. The Soviet Union has made a series of proposals for downgrading the level of military confrontations. These proposals include reduction of military strength and conventional weapons in both Europe and Asia, limitation of naval activities in the Pacific Ocean, Indian Sea, Northern Sea, and Mediterranean Sea areas, and no increase in the number of aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons in Asia.

Numerous other facts can be cited to prove that the Soviet military doctrine does not pose any threat to anyone. In addition, this doctrine is being followed with sufficient understanding of the intents as indicated in Japan's Defense White Paper. Japan's attempt to close its eyes to or distort these facts cannot but be explained as a scheme to confuse the public and thereby to justify its own military buildup program.

This attitude should certainly not be praised. Promotion of peace is incompatible with instigation of mutual distrust, not to mention military buildup. Confrontational acts should be abandoned in favor of disarmament. This is precisely the goal of the Soviet military doctrine.

Japan Opposes Joint Fish Farming Venture

PM0509131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Grudging... Cooperation"]

[Text] The Japanese Foreign Ministry is trying to prevent the creation on the Kurils of a Soviet-Japanese fishing joint venture, in which the Soviet side's partner is the "Utari [as published] Kyodo" firm led by representatives of the Ainu people. The venture will engage in farming certain kinds of fish.

Kasuhiko Togu, director of the USSR Department at the Japanese Foreign Ministry, reported that the Japanese Government was "concerned" about this project. He stated that the creation of a joint venture with the Soviet Union on the islands known as the "northern territories" and claimed by Japan could be assessed as tacit recognition of the Soviet Union's sovereignty over the islands. According to a press report, Togu was sent to Hokkaido to pressure fishing circles and the local authorities to block the creation of the joint venture between the Ainu fishermen and the Soviet fishing cooperative from Sakhalin. It is also reported that the president of the "Utaru [as published] Kyodo" firm ignored the Hokkaido authorities' ban and had left for Kunashir Island to embark on implementing the project.

KYODO notes that the "Japanese Foreign Ministry has opposed the Ainu intention from the very outset on the pretext that such a venture would weaken Tokyo's hand in making territorial claims against the Soviet Union in this region. However, the fishermen, despite this government position, have started preparations for the creation of a Soviet-Japanese joint venture."

Korionov Comments on U.S. Warships at Yokosuka
PM0609115088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Yokosuka: A Few Questions"]

[Text] The teleprinter has brought a report that cannot but attract the attention of everyone who is concerned about the cause of building a nuclear-free world: The American cruiser "Bunker Hill" and destroyer "Fife" have arrived in Yokosuka, where the biggest U.S. naval base in the Far East is, for permanent basing there. The ships, the press informs us, are armed with "Tomahawk" sea-launched cruise missiles with nuclear warheads. It is reported that the cruiser "Bunker Hill," equipped with the "Aegis" antiaircraft missile complex, is carrying 6 nuclear warheads, and the destroyer "Fife"—11. The newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN notes that Vladivostok and certain other Soviet cities fall within the range of these missiles.

A number of questions arise in this connection.

First of all: Why have the American authorities chosen this time for such a step? This step is being taken at a time when the world situation has begun to improve. As a result of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow, prospects for the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations improved. The USSR has embarked on the systematic elimination of its missile weapons. The United States is taking practical steps in the same direction.

And this is the moment at which American militarist forces carry out the aforementioned act in Japanese waters. It is legitimate to assume that since the United States will have to fulfill its commitments under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, certain circles in Washington have decided to seek ways of "compensating." Not only in Western Europe, but also in Japan.

The next question: How do such actions fit in with the assurances of representatives of the U.S. Administration that it seeks normalization of relations with the USSR? Naturally, we know that some people in Washington are simply obsessed with the idea that the so-called "position of strength" policy that the present administration pursues with special zeal is supposedly proving justified and even yielding certain dividends. But is it not time for them to remove the blinders from their eyes and look at the true state of affairs in the world? After all, as soon as you take a sober look at the course of world events it becomes obvious that positive developments in Soviet-American relations, and thus in international relations, too, were achieved when Washington pushed the policy of deterrence into the background and embarked on a realistic course, the path of taking into account each other's mutual interests. And, conversely, matters moved inevitably toward impasse when they went in for saber-rattling. You would think the proper lessons had been learned from the past. But apparently not...

And now a question for Japan. Tokyo invariably repeats that Japan adheres to the three nonnuclear principles: not to produce, not to have, and not to import nuclear weapons. Yet the arrival of these ships in Yokosuka means that for the first time American ships with nuclear weapons on board are stationed in the Japanese islands on a permanent basis.

At the same time the Pentagon is clearly stepping up the pressure on Japan. Here are just a few instances from the last few days. U.S. Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Jackson, enumerating delightedly the increases in Japan's military spending, stressed that Tokyo's actions "have substantially affected the estimate of forces opposing the Soviet Union." During these days U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary R. Costello was in Tokyo. As the newspaper MAINICHI reports, at his meeting with representatives of the Japan Defense Agency and Japan's military-industrial circles an accord was reached on a wide range of questions of U.S.-Japanese cooperation, in particular that at the beginning of October this year a U.S. military delegation will be sent to Japan to hold new consultations with representatives of the Japan Defense Agency on questions of military hardware and technology.

Is all this in the Japanese people's interests? An eloquent answer to this is provided by the active protests by Japanese in Yokosuka and other Japanese cities against Washington's new efforts to tie the country still more firmly to its own nuclear chariot.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage Reviews Current Situation in Burma

Maung Maung Will 'Not Concede'

BK0209133588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Review of news dispatches from Rangoon]

[Text] Compared to predictions made by some observers, the mass demonstrations in which thousands of people participated in Rangoon yesterday were peaceful. The Burma Broadcasting Service and the television service carried an address delivered by the president, Dr Maung Maung, who called for an end to anti-government movements and strikes in the factories and transportation services in the interests of the country.

Dr Maung Maung announced that the opposition demands for immediate removal of the current leadership and formation of an interim government were not legal and that he could not concede to these demands. He said that it was necessary to decide on the issue of having several parties in accordance with the due process of law. He noted that the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] has planned to submit the issue of holding a national referendum at the 12 September party congress which will decide on the issue.

There are signs of support by the central organs of the Lanzin Party [BSPP] for holding a national referendum. However, some students among the demonstrators are saying that since the current demonstrations show what the public wants there is no need for holding a national referendum.

Dr Maung Maung proposed implementation of reforms in stages. He said that the government and the Defense Forces would not interfere with the people's freedom of expression and that the future programs would depend on the people's wishes. The president said in his speech that it would be necessary to amend an article in the 1974 Constitution which prescribes that the Lanzin Party is the sole political party of Burma.

He said he did not intend to pass on the practise of violation of law to the future generation.

A statement made by an opposition group called the League for Democracy and Peace, which was recently formed in Burma with former Prime Minister U Nu as its patron, called for an end to illegal occupation of offices of the people's councils, party, and other government offices. The government made a similar appeal earlier. Observers note that the statement reflects the opposition's readiness to avoid anarchistic acts and excesses. There are some who point out the opposition's efforts to avoid intimidation by the Defense Forces.

The situation in Rangoon and other towns in Burma remains tense. The strike shut down Mingaladon Airport. There are also some eyewitness accounts of the presence of troops near government buildings.

News agencies are also reporting the emergence of underground newspapers which cost as much as 5 Kyat per copy.

Further on President's Address

BK0409092388 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 3 Sep 88

[TASS correspondent dispatch from Rangoon]

[Text] According to a 2 September dispatch, government troops were reported to be stationed around government offices, banks, and the residences of Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] leaders in Rangoon. This follows announcements by opposition leaders that the demonstrating masses were not satisfied with and would reject the proposals made in a speech on radio and television by Dr Maung Maung, BSPP chairman and president.

Dr Maung Maung had said that he would not be able to comply with the demands being made by the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators who want the incumbent government to resign immediately, to practice a multiparty system, and to form an interim government free of people connected to the BSPP. He said that since the state Constitution was passed with the support of the people in 1974, it was necessary to make changes to it before any changes could be made to the political system. Moreover, the president declared his intention once again to convene an extraordinary congress of the party on 12 September to discuss the holding of a national referendum that would decide on the multiparty system.

Dr Maung Maung's address also confirmed the government's support for the establishment of the All-Burma Students Union.

The reestablishment of the students union, which was abolished by the government in 1962, was announced at a mass rally attended by hundreds of thousands of people on 28 August. Leaflets pasted in the capital say the opposition forces, including the students, rejected the proposals made by Dr Maung Maung—asserting that they are simply attempts by the government to buy time. Leaders of the opposition have called on the people to hold another general strike nationwide on 8 September if their demands are not met by that time.

The dispatches received from TASS on 3 September say that the NEWS AGENCY OF BURMA has reported that President Dr Maung Maung has issued an appeal to the Burmese people which states that the people are facing grave difficulties because transportation and banking have been completely halted. The president has

promised not to take action against people who took part in the demonstrations, and that they will be paid in full, including for the days they missed work.

Meanwhile, in Bassein it was learned that a meeting was held between party leaders and officials of economic organizations to discuss problems regarding urgently needed food and other consumer goods for the people, and putting a halt to thefts, lootings, and other incidents threatening the people. Despite such action, antigovernment demonstrations were seen continuing in the capital, Rangoon, on Saturday [3 September].

The opposition forces have declared that the government has lost control of 40 cities in the country. Committees made up of Buddhist monks, former government officials, and people's representatives have been formed and are running these cities, says our TASS correspondent.

Opposition Ultimatum Issued

BK0609112588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] In a speech to the nation Burmese President Dr Maung Maung appealed to the people to wait until the convening of the emergency congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP], which will determine the political future of the state. In response to this speech, representatives of the opposition have issued an ultimatum and demanded an immediate formation of an interim government, the holding of general elections, and the establishment of a multiparty system in the country. They threatened that if the demands are not met by the transition from midnight, 7 September, to 8 September, the opposition would call a general strike.

The general strike, which has been spreading throughout the country, has further exacerbated the economic problem of the country, according to reports arriving from Burma. Transportation is at a standstill and, as a result, there have been food shortages.

A public rally was held in Rangoon in memory of students who had died during the student movement in March. Meanwhile, the Japanese ambassador in Burma has appealed to prevent a possible bloodbath. Japan is a major country which gives economic assistance to Burma.

Earlier, U.S. Congressman Solarz pledged to work for acceptance of a resolution in the U.S. Senate for the transition of power in this Southeast Asian state.

Government Silent on Ultimatum

BK0709125888 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The ultimatum given to the government by the opposition forces will end at 2400 today. The opposition has called on the current state leaders to resign, to form the interim government immediately, and to hold general elections on the basis of a multiparty system.

President Maung Maung and the Burmese Council of Ministers have not responded in any way to the declaration by the opposition leaders that a general strike will be held nationwide beginning Thursday [8 September] if their demands are not met.

Ex-General Tin U, an opposition leader, said that the recently formed League for Democracy and Peace did not want Burma to revert back to capitalism and that he supported close ties with the Nonaligned Movement.

Meanwhile, an AP report from Rangoon says that armed forces have been deployed in school buildings and sports fields of schools.

Another opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, says there were lootings and killings in some areas of Rangoon on Tuesday night. The state-owned radio denied rumors that the government was behind the moves to agitate the mobs.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published in Moscow says that the announcement follows the visit to Burma by U.S. Congressman Solarz. This reflects the attempt by Washington to interfere in Burmese affairs. It says the Burmese people need not be directed from abroad, and that they have the capability to resolve their own problems.

Solarz Visit to Burma Noted; BBC News Rejected

BK0509130188 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Solarz, chairman of the congressional Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, said he would move in the U.S. House to pass a resolution supporting the call for an immediate change to a multiparty system in Burma. Solarz made the announcement in Bangkok after a visit to Burma where he had talks with President Dr Maung Maung and leaders of opposition groups.

Several weeks ago, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution which, some observers say, was tantamount to interference in Burmese affairs.

Meanwhile, it is learned that the Burma Broadcasting Service has rejected a news report on Sunday [4 September] by the BBC of Britain that 10 Army battalions and an air squadron had expressed their support for the demands being made by the demonstrators for the abolishment of a one-party system.

According to reports from Rangoon, it is learned that although demonstrations are continuing, the situation remains relatively calm in the city.

More on Solarz Visit

BK0609103388 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Dear listener, despite continued demonstrations and a confused situation in Burma, Rangoon was comparatively peaceful on Saturday and Sunday. Observers are concentrating their comments on a brief visit to Rangoon by Solarz, chairman of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives.

He met with President Dr Maung Maung as well as the opposition leaders in Burma. He announced that when he got back to Washington he would work to pass a Senate resolution for a transition to a multi-party system in Burma. He said this week would determine whether the destiny of Burma will be resolved through peaceful or violent means. Solarz did not rule out or present any proposal to prevent bloodbath.

Furthermore, he made statements which did not contribute to a constructive approach to problems in Burma. Some of his statements can only be viewed as an open provocation and a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Burma. He unashamedly said that Austria and the FRG would receive the Burmese leaders who would like to flee from Burma. Such statements go against normal diplomatic practice especially as it came from a person who was expected not to exacerbate the situation in Burma, but to help solve and consult on the problem.

It is clear to all that the issue of changing the political system in Burma is not an easy matter. No one should expect a rapid solution to the prolonged economic problem. One of the opposition leaders, ex-Brigadier General Aung Gyi, in an interview with the NHK Television Company explained that the outcome in Burma is likely to become clear only at the end of this month or in October. U Nu, patron of the League for Democracy and Peace, also seemed to understand the need for a cautious and well-planned approach.

Burma's president, Dr Maung Maung, has also spoken on the need to work toward the multi-party system in accordance with the Constitution in the country. However, it is clear that the reports broadcast by Western news agencies and some points contained in the abovementioned statement by Solarz point more toward contributing to confusion.

They deliberately spread fabricated reports of an imminent coup. On Sunday, BBC radio announced that 10 battalions and an air squadron had joined the opposition. However, this report was immediately dismissed by Rangoon radio. It is true that it is difficult to get reliable news from Burma lately with all sorts of rumors circulating in Rangoon. It does not mean that some diplomats and journalists have the right to broadcast reports without verification under such circumstances, without concerns for the consequences. It should be noted here that statements by opposition leaders, U Nu and former Brig Gen Aung Gyi, warned that confrontation between the defense forces and the people should not be allowed.

As for Solarz' pledge to work for a Senate resolution on Burma, the U.S. Senate already received a similar resolution on 12 August. The observers described the patronizing tone of the resolution as an act of interference in the internal affairs of Burma as it amounted to rejection of events in the past 25 years of Burma's history by the U.S. senators. Who gives them such a right?

The events in Burma are shaped by internal developments. The Burmese people have their own convictions about guarantees for a democratic administration and implementation of demands for human rights. Has Washington decided that it can dictate to people in an indebted country how they should live? Despite the knowledge that the multi-party system issue remains unsettled in Burma, Solarz declared that such a system would guarantee a bright future for the country and that he would urge the U.S. and other friendly countries to step up economic aid to Burma to ensure the good beginning of the system. The implications of such a statement are very clear, indeed.

The Burmese people have a lot of problems at hand and they should be able to count on assistance from abroad to solve them, especially economic problems. However, they should not have to accept blatant pressures or interference in their internal affairs from abroad .

Paper Comments on 'Acute' Crisis in Burma

PM0709102988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by A. Bokhonko: "Troubled Fall in the Country of the Golden Pagodas"]

[Text] Streets overflowing with people, trucks and buses filled with demonstrators, meetings, processions, speakers who succeed each other at the microphone, and more meetings. That is the appearance today of many cities of the land of the golden pagodas, as Burma is sometimes called. For the fourth month now it has been shaken by unceasing mass demonstrations by the broadest strata of the population against the ruling regime. Taking part are students, employees, workers, peasants, and even Buddhist monks representing the influential religious community. The Army—the government's bulwark—is standing aloof from this struggle. So far the armed forces are not intervening actively in events, but they are prepared to do so at the first order although, to judge from individual reports, the current demonstrations are generating some sympathy among a certain proportion of servicemen. The scope of the disturbances has reached scales where the government is beginning steadily to lose control over the cities. According to some figures, power in over 40 cities has shifted into the hands of local

committees formed by opposition forces. A similar council is functioning in the Burmese capital. All the signs of an acute domestic political crisis are there. What are the sources of the present tension in the country?

They lie in the results of the 26 years of rule of the present administration, which came to power in the country as a result of a military coup in 1962. Having created the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] and proclaimed socialist slogans, the government imposed reforms from above, implementing in practice a "great leap forward" policy. The results were not long in making themselves felt. The unjustified nationalization of all spheres of the economy, the tough regulation of all spheres of the Burmans' lives led to the peasantry's alienation from the fruit of their labor and to economic collapse and promoted the growth of speculation, the flourishing of the "black market," and contraband. A country generously endowed with natural resources which once exported large quantities of rice came up against an acute shortage of rice. Burma became one of the world's poorest countries in which per capita incomes, according to UN figures, were less than $200 a year, while its foreign debt has reached $4 billion. There was an increase in the dissatisfaction of the population, which was fiercely suppressed. The retirement of Ne Win, under whose leadership the 1962 military coup was implemented, and then of Sein Lwin, with whose name the most bloody suppressions of the popular demonstrations were linked, did not defuse the tension existing in the country. Every day hundreds of thousands of people are going out onto the streets of Rangoon and other cities demanding the immediate resignation of Burma's present leadership, the formation of a transitional government, the holding of general elections, and the establishment of a multiparty system.

The organizers of the demonstrations rejected the proposal of Maung Maung, chairman of the Central Committee of the ruling BSPP and president of Burma, who last week in a special radio address urged the people to "seek to change the political system solely through legal methods." According to the president's statement, the Burmans must wait until 12 September, when an extraordinary BSPP congress will open to examine the question of holding a referendum on the political system.

During the antigovernment demonstrations a "union for democracy and peace" has been created, headed by the country's best known opposition figures like former Prime Minister U Nu and former Defense Minister Tin U, for instance. At a press conference on Monday the opposition leaders issued an ultimatum to the government—either it should resign or the opposition forces will begin a nationwide general strike 8 September. What steps will the administration take in response to this ultimatum? Will it set about suppressing the popular demonstrations or will it agree to the opposition's demands? We will learn the answers to these questions in the next few days. The situation in the country is changing rapidly.

The events taking place in Burma are a strictly internal matter for that country and it is for the Burmese people to resolve this matter. However, the United States' overt attempts to influence the course of events in Burma and to direct them into a channel which suits Washington put us on our guard. Political observers have drawn attention to the lightning visit to Rangoon by Stephen Solarz, chairman of the U.S. Congress subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs—a well known specialist in "crisis situations." Speaking in Bangkok at the end of his trip to Burma, he militated for the replacement of the Burmese Government without concealing the fact that the introduction of a multiparty system would suit Washington very well. I think the Burmans themselves are capable of looking into their own affairs without foreign prompters.

The influential opposition leader Tin U, who enjoys great popularity among the armed forces, stressed in a talk with journalists that Burma will never turn from the path of noncapitalist development. "We do not want a return to capitalism and in our policy we will steer a course toward rapprochement with the Nonaligned Movement."

Soviets Honor Vietnamese Independence Anniversary

Baklanov at Moscow Jubilee

PM0509104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Dedicated to the Anniversary"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of Vietnam's independence was held in Moscow on 1 September.

The main speaker—V.V. Sychev, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society Central Board and CEMA secretary, noted that Vietnamese working people have managed to resolve many urgent problems and have considerably strengthened their economic and defense potential. It was stressed that the fraternal alliance between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam is the main source of cooperation between the two countries.

La Thang, head of a Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society delegation and vice chairman of its Central Board, talked about the resolution by SRV working people of the tasks of socioeconomic development and the republic's struggle for peace.

Taking part in the meeting were O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Yazov Greets SRV Counterpart

PM0509140588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Greetings message from Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister "To Army General Comrade Le Duc Anh, Vietnamese Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I send you and all Vietnamese servicemen combat greetings and cordial congratulations on the SRV national holiday—the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence.

Soviet servicemen and all Soviet people make a high assessment of the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between our peoples and armed forces based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The close collaboration between our armies is making a weighty contribution to safeguarding peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and worldwide.

I wish you and all Vietnamese People's Army servicemen great successes in strengthening your motherland's combat capability and fulfilling the decisions of the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Party Documents Published

PM0609150388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Collection of Documents"]

[Text] The collection "Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress" has been published. It includes the most important materials from the party forum of Vietnamese Communists held 15-18 December 1986: the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee political report; the main directions and tasks of socioeconomic development in 1986-1990; the speech by Ye.K. Ligachev, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and other items.

The collection is published by Political Literature Publishing House.

Ministry Official on Relations With Thailand

LD0609220988 Moscow World Service in English 0610 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The director of the Southeast Asian Department at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Anatoliy Zaytsev, visited recently Thailand for talks in Bangkok with the Thai Foreign Ministry officials. One of the subjects discussed was the agenda of the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly. Such discussions are held on a regular basis within the framework of the arrangement signed between the Soviet Union and Thailand in May during the official visit to this country by the Thai prime minister. Our reporter, Igor Shevchenko, met Anatoliy Zaytsev and interviewed him on the links between the Soviet Union and Thailand.

[Shevchenko] What in your opinion is the state of relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand at the present stage?

[Zaytsev] Well, I would like to start with a brief reference to history. The relations between our two countries have a long history and rich traditions. In fact, they date back to the late 19th century when Russia, having established diplomatic ties with Siam, provided support to the Thai people in their just struggle to safeguard their independence.

Speaking of the present day, let me stress that we think it is important to promote our relations with Thailand, which is one of the most influential and dynamic countries of Southeast Asia and a member-state of ASEAN. More than a century ago, back in 1874, King Chulalongkorn of Siam expressed hope that Siam and Russia would have friendly realtions. I have the feeling that at this stage we have every right to say those hopes are becoming reality. Looking at Soviet-Thai relations of recent years I would say they were growing and there are good prospects at present. Quite recently, especially after our foreign ministers exchanged visits last year, the contacts on the governmental level became stronger and more intensive. Of course, the visit to this country of Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda in May this year opened a new stage in the relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand. We are now in the situation when we have ongoing consultations on a permanent basis on various levels, be it the foreign ministers, their deputies or high-ranking foreign ministry officials.

In fact, my recent visit to Thailand was part of this process of consultations initiated in May of this year. I went to Bangkok to discuss issues which are going to feature prominently on the agenda of the forthcoming UN General Assembly session.

But such contacts are not the whole story. Just to give you an idea, only last week a Soviet youth delegation returned from a visit to Bangkok. This month we are

expecting to see in this country a delegation of the National Council of Thai Women. Cultural, scientific and sports exchanges are on the rise, too. [passage omitted]

[Shevchenko] What about the economic ties between the Soviet Union and Thailand?

[Zaytsev] In that area, too, there have been positive developments in the recent years. Thailand is a partner of great potential for us in Southeast Asia. There is a mutual interest to develop trade ties. One more evidence of that is a joint trade and investment group set up last year which has recently started soliciting business transactions.

[Shevchenko] Let's try to look into the future now. What are the prospects of Soviet-Thai bilateral relations?

[Zaytsev] I will remind you that in his Vladivostok speech General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev spoke out for broadening ties with Thailand in various fields on a stable, equitable and mutually advantageous basis. We have accumulated a large scope of positive experience in the past years in our relations. Now it's time to try to build up on that, to use the potential that's already there. Among the priorities, I would say, promoting trust and goodwil through parliamentary exchanges, scientific, cultural, sports ties, etc.

Then, of course, there is trade. I feel there is still a lot of room for improvement there. Perhaps it will get a boost from the joint Soviet-Thai commission on trade. Its first session is scheduled for later this year. By the way, we don't limit our trade possibilities only to the intergovernment trade. We are doing business with private companies as well.

Then take science and technology. There is no reason why we shouldn't cooperate in that, too.

So, as I said, there is a huge potential for cooperation bertween our two countries. I am sure everyone would benefit from that, I mean, not only the Soviet Union and Thailand, but other countries in the region, too. In fact, this is the best way to promote peace in Asia and worldwide.

Laos' Phomvihan Concludes USSR Vacation

PM0209135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Departure From USSR"]

[Text] Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, left the Soviet Union on 31 August having been on vacation in our country at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Najibullah, Party Leaders Meeting

LD0209232388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first conference of the leaders of political parties in Afghanistan is taking place in Kabul. Our correspondent M. Leshchinskiy reports:

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] This is the fist general meeting of the leaders of all the political parties that have been established and registered in accordance with the new Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan. To all appearances, the need for such a conversation has been a matter of urgency for a long time, and it has been dictated by the increasingly complex military and political situation in the country. [video shows leaders arriving and then seated around a large table in a hall] The question of whether there will or will not be an independent, integral, and democratic Afghanistan is now more acute than ever before. I think that it is precisely an awareness of the full gravity and, perhaps, the tragic nature of the moment that has brought together the leaders of the various political movements and various social groups.

The Islamic Ansarollah Alliance, led by Safar Muhammad Khadim, was officially registered here yesterday. Our party, like many parties of the Afghan opposition movement in Pakistan, Safar Muhammad Khadim said, is called Islamic. However, a policy of neutrality toward the events taking place in Afghanistan distinguished us from them for many years. We have realized the need to defend the state, which is striving for peace and an end to the war. The leaders of the so-called "Islamic Opposition," among whom, incidentally, there are hardly any prominent religious figures, are merely engaged in a power struggle, whereas we wish to serve our land and our long-suffering people, Safar Muhammad Khadim said in conclusion.

The meeting was opened by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the president emphasized, we have become more and more actively involved in military actions. This is a grim necessity and this trend will apparently grow. The president appealed to the representatives of all parties in Afghanistan to rise above narrow party views, to rise to the level of common national interests and unite in order to save the fatherland.

Despite differing approaches and outlooks, the leaders of the political parties who spoke voiced their concern that, after the withdrawal of the Soviet military units, the extremist forces would extend the scale of the war, step up the policy of weakening and dividing the people, and increase all their destructive actions. The resolution that was adopted expressed the general decision to unite

within the framework of a coalition so as to defend the Constitution and peace with arms in hand, and to uphold national honor and the dignity of the Republic of Afghanistan. [end recording]

Soviet-Afghan Economic Cooperation Strengthens
PM0509143188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by S. Kulik: "Economic Cooperation With Afghanistan Is Expanding. At Hayraton's Moorings"]

[Text] The day is dawning over the treeless Balkh hills, the sandy slopes are golden, and black shadows are forming in the valleys where one more sign of the war stands out: the burned-out remains of a heavy-duty trailer. Now that the first stage of our forces' withdrawal has been completed, traffic, which for several days had been operating only to the north of Termez, has once again been opened in both directions along the road. And now this flow is increasing every day, and peaceful cargo is going to friendly Afghanistan, the TASS political observer reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Almost 10 years of war have brought material loss to Afghanistan amounting to $8 billion. This is as much as was spent on developing the national economy in the 40 years preceding the war. So there arises the question of additional economic aid from the USSR to restore the war-devastated economy. Diverse aspects of this aid were revealed during E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Kabul. I saw the satisfaction and gratitude with which the Afghans listened to local radio reports that listed those sectors in whose development their northern neighbor is undertaking to assist in the traditional way: agriculture, irrigation, power, transportation, the gas industry, geology, training national cadres....

"Our province is destined to play the role of a kind of bridge via which this assistance will be implemented," 33-year-old Mokhammad Sharif [name as published], governor of Balkh, said. "The river port of Hayraton, through which 80 percent of Afghanistan's export and import traffic passes, is located in its territory on the left bank of the Amu Darya. The bulk of these goods in both directions is transported along Balkh roads. Between 250-300 heavy trucks travel along them every day."

The day before in Mazar-e Sharif I was talking with leading businessmen of the Afghan north. Rasul Barat [name as published], whom SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already talked about (21 May 1988), was also among them.

"I have been very interested by the fact that, after your foreign minister's visit to Kabul, opportunities for cooperation between Afghan private capital and Soviet partners have expanded," he said. "This is a fundamentally new element in economic relations between our countries. It is good that direct ties between the Soviet republics and the Afghan provinces, between our cities, and even between individual enterprises will also strengthen. This will undoubtedly assist Afghanistan to heal its war wounds more rapidly. In accordance with tradition the Soviet Union is once again coming to our assistance."

The USSR is indeed willing to ensure the most favorable conditions for expanding cooperation with national Afghan traders and businessmen. Today Soviet foreign trade organizations maintain trade and economic operations with 250 private Afghan companies and national Afghan traders. In recent years trade cooperation with the private sector has been developing more rapidly in comparison with the increase in the volume of the overall trade turnover between our two countries. In the last 3 years the private sector's share of Soviet-Afghan trade has doubled and constitutes about 20 percent of total trade turnover.

The recently set up mixed trade societies (Afsotr and Aftento) are playing a considerable role in the development of cooperation with Afghanistan's private sector. Another avenue is bilateral cooperation with Afghanistan's national businessmen to create diverse enterprises. At the present time 28 contracts have been signed to set up bakeries, confectionery factories, enterprises for producing pastries and refining salt, and an organization of construction companies. The first bicycle-assembly enterprise has been commissioned.

In the very near future no less than 15 new bilateral contracts will be signed; they include setting up in Afghanistan a number of major enterprises including a plant for producing rubber footwear, a textile factory, a motor transport enterprise, and a nonalcoholic drinks plant.

Direct ties among all Afghanistan's provinces and 12 Soviet republics and oblasts, and also between Kabul and Moscow, have undergone extensive development in recent times.

...Before reaching Hayraton we pass a stretch of road rebuilt by soldiers from a Soviet construction battalion. And I automatically recall that our soldiers were often the first to give the Afghans not only military but also economic assistance! How many kilometers of road have been repaired by them; how many bridges built, power lines restored, irrigation canals dug, and wells sunk; how many clubs, schools, and kindergartens have been constructed...? The soldiers are leaving Afghanistan, leaving peaceful facilities on its land.

Those facilities of a military designation will serve to defend the revolution. As the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan progresses, the systematic transfer of military townships, stores, and fuel is underway. By July 1988 26 townships in 15 of the republic's provinces had been handed over. They house about

1,000 installations serving diverse purposes and a large quantity of stocks and equipment. Everywhere Afghans are becoming the full owners of the facilities constructed by the Soviet Army.

An impromptu news conference took piace in Hayraton: Finnish General Raul Helminen, leader of a UN observers group, stated in reply to journalists' questions: "There is no doubt that the Soviet forces will keep to the Geneva timetable. In addition, I can report some good news to you. The Pakistani authorities have allowed a UN observation post to be set up in Peshawar and Quetta. I hope that this will help to control deliveries of weapons and will assist the settlement around Afghanistan."

Once we have crossed the bridge over the great Central Asian river we are in Soviet territory. A meeting of our "Afghan"-internationalists who had successfully fulfilled the motherland's command took place on the bank of the Amu Darya—a meeting that was not only festive but touching.

TASS Analyst Decries VOA 'Lies' on Qandahar

LD0609180188 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The U.S. is prepared to go any lengths to support the armed Afghan opposition perpetrating crimes on long-suffering Afghan soil.

Trying to raise the morale of units of the opposition that have been trying for several weeks to capture the provincial centre of Qandahar, the Voice of America radio station announced that the failures of the opposition units are allegedly explained by the fact that Qandahar is defended not only by Afghan forces but also by Soviet troops that allegedly returned to that city. The Voice of America declared that Soviet troops recaptured Qandahar which they had vacated three weeks ago.

But this sensation of the Voice of America proved to be a falsehood. We have learned from authoritative Soviet military circles that Soviet troops, according to the schedule of the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan, left Qandahar and have never returned there.

And then there is no need for that. Armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan worthily fulfilled the task of protecting the province. According to official reports, units of the Qandahar garrison fully control the situation in the province.

The situation in Qandahar Province, just as in other Afghan provinces, certainly, cannot be described as tranquil. The armed opposition continues the attempts to destabilize the situation. Ambitious plans of the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" included the seizure of the city where they thought they could set up the temporary capital of a transitional government. But all attempts of the opposition to seize large centres of border provinces such as Qandahar and Jalalabad, and even a small town of Kalat ended ingloriously. Units of the Afghan Army gave a crushing rebuff to armed units of the opposition and proved that Afghan Armed Forces are capable of protecting their country against any encroachments even without the direct backing of Soviet troops.

The lies spread by the Voice of America are clearly aimed at disturbing the Afghans, at sowing doubts about durability of the Kabul regime and combat potential of its army and thus to give a moral support to the armed opposition. As to material support, it continues in violation of the Geneva accords. U.S. armaments, including rockets, stream through Pakistan by old channels. Units of the armed opposition are even supplied with U.S. armaments directly.

Afghan Troops Eliminate Rebel Groups

LD0409133988 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Among the main features of the latest reports dealing with the situation in Afghanistan are the return of refugees home and the routing of extremist opposition groups. According to BAKHTAR, more than 600 persons have returned home from Iran and Pakistan over the past twenty-four hours. All of them have been granted the necessary material aid. Another 350-men-strong group of refugees from Narzai tribe returned in Shindan District, Herat Province. They expressed the wish to defend their fellow-citizens by joining in a self-defence detachment.

Afghan troops carried out a number of operations for the elimination of armed groups of extremists. In Lowgar Province a group of extremists on their way to the administrative centre of the province was spotted and eliminated with the assistance of the local population. Twenty-three persons were killed and tens wounded. All the weapons of the group, including heavy weapons, have been captured and destroyed.

In Gustaw District of Nangarhar Province, rebels were knocked in the course of an operation out of several strongpoints, and two ammunition depots were exploded. Eighteen extremists were killed in Helmand Province. A large-scale operation against anti-government groups, which terrorised the inhabitants of Ahmar [placename as received] District, is being carried out in the eastern Province of Konar. The extremists suffered heavy losses.

A column of trucks from the Samarkand region of Uzbekistan arrived in Baghlan. Foods, necessaries, medicines and household appliances were delivered for the inhabitants of the province.

London September 4 TASS—According to a REUTER agency report, the Pakistani authorities rejected the proposal of the Republic of Afghanistan on the holding of a foreign ministers' conference of the countries, which signed the Geneva accords, with the participation of the U.N. secretary-general to discuss questions pertaining to the implementation of the accords.

The proposal from the Afghan side contained in the message of Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil to the U.N. secretary-general has been necessitated by the incessant violations of the Geneva accords by Islamabad. The Republic of Afghanistan has knowledge of more than 400 instances of such violations about which the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan notified the U.N. Observers in Kabul.

Trying to substantiate his government's obstructionist stand on Afghanistan's proposal, Humayun Khan, first deputy foreign minister of Pakistan, said that "indirect talks may be held at the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference in Nicosia next week."

Soviet Soldiers Remove Mines Planted by Rebels
LD0409120088 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet troops have removed mines from 1,518 fields since May when the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan began. This is reported by a correspondent for the press agency NOVOSTI in Kabul. The removal of mines has been witnessed by newsmen from the United States, West Germany, and Britain. Three hundred and forty minefields have been passed over to the Afghan troops. They are located close to the guard posts and economic facilities in the places where the armed opposition usually attacks. Some 238,000 mines planted by the rebels were removed by Soviet soldiers since 30th August. That figure shows, says the correspondent, who is the one that conducts the mine war in Afghanistan.

Afghan 'Mutineer' Arms Arrive From Pakistan
LD0509091588 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 5 TASS—Despite assurances by Pakistani politicians of their desire for observing the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords, the territory of this country remains a springboard for aggression against Afgahnistan.

Two Pakistani battalions are stationed in the area of Chamkanni (Pakistan) in the direct proximity to the border with the Afghan Province of Konarha. During the latter half of August they repeatedly rendered assistance to mutineers, trying to dislodge Afghan units from their positions with heavy weapons fire. The personnel of the Pakistani battalions ensure security of Arab "advisers" who coordinate combat operations of mutineers in this area.

Between 10 and 15 truckloads of arms and ammunition are daily disptached from depots of the Jandala Regiment (Pakistani agency WANA), via the Azam-Warsak transshipment base, to detachments of the "irreconcilable" operating in central Afghan provinces. Four truckloads of weapons and ammunition arrived late in August from Peshawar to Parvan Province for detachments of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA), operating in Khenjan District of Baghlan Province.

A new depot was built at the base of the Fatkh Regiment in the area of Terimangal [placename as received] (Pakistan). The IPA Military Committee allocated 20 trucks to haul weapons and ammunition to the depot. They arrived at the regiment on August 30.

An IPA detachment which brought, among other things, several Stinger antiaircraft missiles, arrived from Pakistan in the zone of Kapisa (north-east of Charikar) to reinforce a group of armed opposition. At the same time a caravan which also delivered several missiles of the same class to mutineers, arrived in Bagram District of Parvan Province.

Some 150 truckloads of arms and ammunition which in the near future will be delivered to IPA detachments operating in the Afghan District of Khowst, arrived at depots in the Khardand training centre in Pakistan.

In the past few days new armed groups of the irreconcilable opposition infiltrated into districts of Mir Bacheh Kowt and Shakar Darreh of Kabul Province. About 300 mutineers drilled in Pakistan arrived in Balkh Province. At present they are engaged in recruiting young people to their ranks and forming new armed detachments. A batch of rockets of the surface-to-surface class, other weapons and ammunition were delivered to Herat area. Five West German advisers also operate there. Caravans with weapons from Pakistan also arrived in the Bagram and Charikar Districts of Parvan Province.

Afghan Army Strikes 'Extremist Groups'
LD0609115188 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 6 TASS—A large armed group of opposition forces went over to the side of the government in the south-western Afghan Province of Nimruz. More than 2,000 men laid down arms and returned to peaceful labour. The group's commander, Malek Dost Muhammed [name as received], voiced at a rally in Zarang [name as received] support for the policy of national reconciliation and the Geneva agreements, told about the decision to form the tribal volunteer corps to

defend peace and security in this border province. Another armed group, of 60 men, refused to conduct combat operations in Badghisat Province.

Units of the Afghan Army delivered a strike at the extremist groups which terrorised the population in Paghman district, Kabul Province. The rebels, who used heavy weapons, killed several dozen people, burned down schools and a hospital, destroyed houses. As a result of the Afghan Army operation, 40 extremists were killed and another 13 wounded. Afghan border guards foiled an attempt by an antigovernment group to penetrate into Khowst District. They detained and destroyed more than 100 rebels near the border. Several extremists were taken prisoner.

City Gardeyz and locality Rude-Ahmadzai [name as received] in Paktia Province came under intensive rocket shelling. In one day alone rebels fired some 400 rocket projectiles at these areas, killing four people and wounding 13 others. As a result of the shelling considerable damage was done to six mosques, four schools, 40 residential houses and 22 shops. Five trucks burned down. City Lashkar Gha in Helmand Province also came under rocket fire.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan conveyed to the U.N. mission the 75th note citing facts of violation by Pakistan of the Geneva accords and asking to probe them.

Pakistani Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD0709092488 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Abdul Sattar, Pakistan's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to Georgiy Tarazevich, vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin today.

A policy aimed at stopping all interference in the Afghan affairs from the Pakistani territory, a policy of good-neighbourliness, rather than that of confrontation with a neighbour, is what best serves the basic interests of the Pakistani people, it was declared to the ambassador.

The sooner a final political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan is achieved on the basis of the Geneva accords, the sooner the barriers are removed blocking the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and Pakistan.

The Soviet-Pakistani relations have a remarkable potential for further development.

After the credentials were presented, Tarazevich and Sattar exchanged speeches and had a conversation.

Ziaul Haq Death Aftermath, Investigations Viewed

PM0209114688 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondents Ye. Aleksandrov and Yu. Denisov report: "Pakistan: Between Past and Future"]

[Excerpts] Islamabad—So, the tragic incident near Bahawalpur marked the end of the 11 years of leadership of the country and the armed forces by General Ziaul Haq.

Four independent commissions are investigating the causes of the disaster, TASS correspondents report to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. [passage omitted]

Many questions face the commissions engaged in the investigation, but by all appearances it is hardly likely that exhaustive answers will be obtained to all of them. It is expected that a report on the work they have done will be submitted in the next few days for examination by the cabinet and then published in the press.

The different approaches to Ziaul Haq's personality have become apparent in diametrically opposite assessments of the results of his activity in the highest state post. According to a statement by acting Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Ziaul Haq "left behind the memory of a man devoted to the cause of Islam, Pakistan, and peace, who successfully led the country out of many difficult and critical situations." Ghulam Ishaq Khan stressed that Ziaul Haq came out courageously in support of the international principles of freedom, justice, and equality.

On the other hand, according to the assessment of the central executive committee of the biggest opposition party, the Pakistan People's Party, in a resolution specially adopted on this question, "Ziaul Haq will be remembered in Pakistan as a man who unlawfully siezed power and left nothing behind him after 11 and ½ years of his repressive rule except debts and unpaid loans, hunger and unemployment, exploitation and discrimination, drug addiction and corruption."

The political system created by Ziaul Haq, in which the military and bureaucratic elite holds the leading position, continues to operate after the death of its founder. Head of state Ghulam Ishaq Khan has declared the continuation of Ziaul Haq's political course. Opposition figures believe in this connection that Ziaul Haq's departure need not automatically lead to changes in the existing regime. Therefore, they intend to continue the struggle for the full restoration of democracy and social justice in Pakistan. At this stage the political parties regard it as a priority task to eliminate all the negative consequences of the military's prolonged term in power. At the same time they are afraid of the possible reintroduction of martial law in the country. In this connection

opposition forces emphasize peaceful means of achieving the goals set with a view to avoiding the stepping up of domestic tension and the emergence of conditions that could be used as a pretext for the generals to seize power in the country again.

It appears that the further development of events will depend on the opposition's ability to pool its efforts, and also on the role that the Pakistani Armed Forces intend to play in the country's political life. General Mirza Aslam Beg [name as published], now chief of staff of Pakistan's ground forces, has already stated that the Army should remain aloof from political activity and concentrate on defending the country against external enemies. But time will tell what this statement is worth.

Vorontsov Meets Iranian Envoy on Gulf Conflict

LD0209165688 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, Naser Heirani Nobari, at his request.

The two had a substantive exchange of views on the problem of settling the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The also discussed practical issues of promoting Soviet-Iranian trade and economic relations.

Syrian Party Delegation Continues Visit

Meets With Vorontsov

LD0509195688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, first USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received today a delegation from the Syrian Arab Republic People's Council Arab and Foreign Affairs Committee, headed by Nazih Duwaydari, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Central Committee, which is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A discussion took place, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, on a wide range of topical issues concerning the situation in the world and in the Near East, as well as further deepening Soviet-Syrian interaction in the international arena.

Yuliy Vorontsov briefed the Syrian parliamentarians on the efforts being undertaken by the Soviet Union to build a secure and nuclear-free world and to establish constructive international cooperation. He underlined in this connection the important significance of relations between the USSR and Syria. The problems of the liberated states are close to and understood by the Soviet Union, which invariably supports their struggle to strengthen independence and to freely choose the path of their own development.

Those taking part in the conversation pointed out the necessity of stepping up efforts aimed at convening an international conference on the Near East. The Soviet side affirmed its intention of giving vigorous assistance to seeking a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of a balance of interests of the sides.

Group Visits Belorussia

JN0309191888 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1250 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (SANA)—The Syrian People's Assembly delegation under Nazih Duwaydari, Ba'th Party Central Committee member, is continuing its visit to the USSR.

Yesterday, the members of the delegation arrived in Minsk, capital of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, where they conferred with members of the Presidium of its Supreme Soviet led by Vladimir Mikulich. The meeting took up Syrian-USSR relations in general and Syrian-Belorussian ties in particular, with special emphasis on parliamentary ones.

Mikulich praised Syria's stands under the leadership of struggler President Hafiz al-Asad, declaring that Syria stands out not only as a Middle East power but also globally. The Soviet official emphasized the need for efforts on behalf of Middle East peace through the vehicle of a UN-sponsored international conference on the basis of Israel's evacuation of all occupied Arab land and the Palestinians' right to self-determination and statehood.

Comrade Duwaydari, for his part, commended the valiant struggle of the Belorussian people against Nazi occupation. He drew a parallel between Zionist and Nazi practices, saying that the Zionist demolition of Al-Qunaytirah recalls their Nazi predecessors' destruction of Minsk.

Syrian Party Official Stops Over in Moscow

JN0509070288 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow—Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, arrived in Moscow last night en route to the DPRK. Al-Ahmar is leading a party and government delegation to participate in the celebrations on the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's independence. While in the USSR, Comrade al-Ahmar will hold meetings and contacts with some Soviet officials within the framework of the developing relations between the two parties and the two friendly countries.

Palestinian Leader Habash Arrives in Moscow
JN0709125888 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The uprising and other developments on the Palestinian and Arab levels will be among the main topics that PFLP Secretary General George Habash will discuss with Soviet leaders during his visit to Mocow. A PFLP delegation led by George Habash began a visit to Moscow today at the official invitation of the CPSU.

Gorbachev Book Published in Indian Languages
LD0609145088 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] New Delhi September 6 TASS—The book "Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World" by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was brought out in mass edition in two more national languages of India-Bengali and Assamese.

It was prepared for publication by the Manisha Granthalaya publishers in partnership with the Soviet foreign trade association Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga. The ceremony to launch the book in the Bengali and Assamese languages was held in the city of Calcutta, the administrative center of West Bengal state.

This year, Gorbachev's book on perestroyka (restructuring) was brought out in the Punjabi and Telugu languages. In the next two months, Indian publishers plan to issue the book in other national languages—Hindi, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam.

Radio Announces Death of Chief Editor Talanov
TA0209192288 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] We are sorry to announce the death of our dear comrade, Lev Talanov, who died of cardiac arrest this morning. He was 64 years old. Lev Talanov had been the chief editor of our station since the day it was established 25 years ago. He was a talented journalist and a pleasant person who left a strong impression on all those who met him. Lev Talanov was a devoted fighter for the causes of peace, humanism, and freedom. He always imparted the teachings of creative work, justice, and peace to his comrades. We bow our heads in memory of the man who devoted his entire life to the loyal service of these universal ideals.

Briefs

Algerian Culture Protocol

The visit of Bessaieh, member of the National Liberation Front Central Committee and minister of culture and tourism of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, will serve to strengthen mutual understanding and trust between the Soviet and Algerian peoples. A protocol on the outcome of the visit was signed today in the USSR Ministry of Culture. During the visit, an accord was reached on reciprocal holding of days of culture, in which well-known groups and performers will participate. [Text] [*LD0309021788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 88*]

Protocol With Mauritania

Nouakchott September 1 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania have signed here a protocol on cultural and scientific cooperation for 1987-1989 [dates as received]. The document provides for further development of cooperation between the two countries in the field of training national personnel for Mauritiania and expanding cultural and scientific bilateral exchanges, covering the spheres of cinema, television, radio, health and sports. [Text] [*LD0209060088 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 1 Sep 88*]

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU Visitors Meet With Ghanaian Officials
PM0509104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Accra, 1 Sep—The Ghanaian people are attentively following the USSR's actions in the struggle for peace and resolutely support the Soviet initiatives in this sphere, Gertrude Zakaria-Ali, secretary in the Office of the Chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC], stated here at a meeting with the CPSU delegation headed by G.A. Posibeyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Mary CPSU Obkom. The delegation is in Ghana in connection with the plan for CPSU-PNDC ties. The Soviet Union's steps in eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles serve the cause of achieving international security, she noted.

During a meeting between the CPSU delegation and William Yeboah, PNDC secretary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Ghanaian side was familiarized with the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the course of restructuring in the USSR. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of expanding bilateral cooperation.

Burundi Delegation Holds News Conference
LD0609202888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sep 6 (TASS)—"The Western media have come out with plenty of totally unfounded speculation about the tragic events that were caused by a flare-up of contradictions between nationalities in Burundi this August," said Liber Bararunyeretse, coordinator of the UPRONA [Unity for National Progress] Standing Secretariat [name and title as received], here

today. He was speaking at a news conference at the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries. "It was a whole campaign to disinform the international public."

The coordinator of the Standing Secretariat of UPRONA spoke of the clashes that had been provoked by antigovernment elements between representatives of the two main ethnic groups inhabiting Burundi. These events resulted in numerous casualties. Liber Bararunyeretse denied reports that the conflict was extensive, stressing that the unrest had affected only two communes, in the northern provinces near the border with Rwanda.

Burundi Government representatives had been sent there to calm the population and to say what had actually happened. With this same end in view, the head of state addressed a message to the nation. The government has given the victims help in building houses destroyed during the conflict and has provided for food aid.

Investigations are now going on, Liber Bararunyeretse stated. The guilty will be brought to court and will be punished in accordance with the law.

East Europe

Weekly Cites Polish Media on Strikes

PM0509090088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 3-9 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 1 Sep) p 2

[P. Lukyanchenko report "prepared from Polish press materials," under the rubric "The Press Testifies": "The Strikes in Poland"]

[Text] "The communist authorities and supporters of the banned 'Solidarity' trade union are fighting for control of enterprises all over Poland," "a column of 60 police vehicles with water cannons and armored carriers has set off for Gdansk," "workers at mines and shipyards have been forced to sign statements on their readiness to continue work"—the Western press is currently full of such reports, reminiscent of dispatches from a theater of hostilities. Although the situation in Poland has, frankly, been a complex one over the last 3 weeks, it is not as hopeless as the Western mass media try to make out.

Assessing the strike situation and its economic and political consequences for the whole of Poland, J. Dobraczynski, chairman of the All-Polish Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, draws attention to the small group of people who provoked the disturbances under cover of the fine-sounding word "Solidarity." Exploiting this, the extremists lay claim to the role of full representatives of all working people, of the entire people, he stated.

On the other hand, objective circumstances, J. Dobraczynski notes, have also prompted the masses' dissatisfaction and its expression in the form of unlawful strikes. These are, first and foremost, the too slow process of reforms, with galloping price hikes, a shortage of goods, striking contrasts in the rise and fall of the population's income, cuts at some production units, and numerous manifestations of thriftlessness and irresponsibility. All this together annoys the people and creates a background for the strike phenomena.

What were the strikers' demands? As the Polish press reports, they amount to the following points: an increase in wages to take account of the miners' difficult working conditions; the introduction of free Saturdays and Sundays; an end to the waste of materials and equipment; a reduction in the number of administrative workers; improved housing conditions; free exchange of objective information; and trade union pluralism, with the legalization of "Solidarity's" activity.

As a PAP commentary notes, most of the demands are justified. For instance, the demand to ban work on rest days, improve the system of distribution of materials through stricter controls, hold consultations with workers collectives on questions of investment policy, carry out a radical reduction in administrative personnel, and so forth.

It is naive to think that citizens' material demands can be met by government decisions without taking into account the objective potential of the economy, Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, stated at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. At the same time actions like the recent strikes have further exacerbated the working people's position and led to direct losses on the order of more than Z10 billion, including losses of $11 million.

Every year we pay out some $2 billion to meet foreign debts, Z. Messner stressed. That is an enormous burden. If these funds could be used within the country, many enterprises would be able to operate at full capacity. But can the country avoid paying that debt? No. It would be a shortsighted policy. Poland would lose all the trust of its foreign partners.

It is necessary, Z. Messner noted, to resolve the problems over which conflicts most often arise. There is, for instance, a natural resistance on the part of enterprises and entire sectors to the restructuring of the established system. An example is the plan to eliminate the unprofitable Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. From the legal, organizational, and technical viewpoint the solution to this question is available. It is a matter of overcoming political, departmental, and psychological resistance. This does not only apply to the shipyard. It applies equally to other unprofitable enterprises. There is a concrete starting point for such decisions—a list of 140 enterprises that have bad economic results. So far a decision has been made to eliminate 27 enterprises and to split up several dozen more.

The presence among the demands of the point about legalizing "Solidarity" is due to the fact that, as the Polish press points out, virtually all the strike committees are headed by members of the leadership of the former "Solidarity": L. Walesa, K. Switon, A. Michnik, B. Lis, and others. What do these "defenders" of the Polish workers interests want?

As the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR notes, "Solidarity" must now be hoping that disappointment with the ineffectiveness of the reforms will be strong enough for the country to become paralyzed, as in August 1980 when hundreds of enterprises were closed. In an interview for Radio-Tele Luxembourg, former "Solidarity" leader L. Walesa stated frankly that his aim is pluralism, and "not socialist pluralism" at that.

The position of the country's state and political authorities on this question is unequivocal: "There will be no return to the situation that took place prior to August 1980 and prior to December 1981."

As W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated at the plenum, the key task is for the entire party to take the offensive with a view to eliminating all the manifestations of tension that exist in the country, totally restoring public order, accomplishing a turnaround in economic policy, giving new impetus to the process of implementation of the economic reform, and extending the sphere of national consensus.

Losses Created by Polish Strikes Examined

LD0609223288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Test] Today, and this week in general, all Polish enterprises are operating normally. The attention of the Polish media and public is drawn to those enterprises, first of all, which were standing idle during the second half of August because of strikes. What is the cost of the lost time for the enterprises and the country's economy? I have asked our Warsaw correspondent, Vasiliy Lesovik, to answer this question.

[Lesovik] In many cases losses for the country, frankly speaking, are irreversible and amount to enormous sums. For example, strikes at coal mines mean that about 850,000 metric tons of coal were not extracted, including more than 650,000 metric tons of coking coal, which is needed by the country's metallurgical enterprises. This, in turn, has caused problems for other industries. Coal is Poland's most important and stable export item. So, apart from internal problems, problems relating to the fulfillment of foreign trade commitments have arisen, threatening to undermine Poland's prestige as a trade partner. Another winter is approaching. Even before now the situation with the country's fuel reserves was tense, but owing to the sustained losses it will become more complicated.

Szczecin dock workers are virtually unable to make up for the backlog of cargo caused by 2 weeks of idleness. In addition, one should take into account that many long-standing customers have diverted their ships to the rival ports of Hamburg and Rostock. Szczecin has thus lost a lot of hard currency. As a result, the strikes in the country's largest port have called into question the planned modernization of the port facilities.

The Gdansk shipyard has found itself in a complex situation. It experienced financial difficulties before, too. Shipbuilding is now in decline throughout the world, and each shipyard is literally fighting to get orders. This year Gdansk shipbuilders were provided with orders to capacity, mainly thanks to Soviet contracts. Recently work was completed on two vessels for the USSR and Finland. But it is questionable whether they will be able to keep their schedule and hand over the other five vessels to foreign partners before the year ends. This carries a threat of financial sanctions and loss of prestige for the contractor and does not improve the financial situation of the shipyard itself.

Thus, the consequences of the 2-week strikes by individual groups at the country's mines and ports have become a burden for all society.

Cardinal Glemp Arrives in Belorussia

LD0609102588 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 5 Sep 88

[By PAP special correspondent Miroslaw Ikonowicz]

[Text] Grodno, Sept. 5—Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp arrived in Grodno today, the first stopover in his three-day visit to Belorussia. Glemp was greeted by the faithful with bread and salt and with words of welcome spoken in Polish. This is the first official trip in fifty years made by a Polish bishop to these territories, resided by many Poles.

Glemp was greeted at the border crossing in Kuznica Bialostocka by Metropolitan of Minsk and Belorussia Filaret who accompanied the primate during his visit to Grodno. The primate of Poland was also greeted by representatives of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The visit is paid at the invitation of Metropolitan Filaret who fulfills in the Orthodox church the role of "foreign minister".

Thousands of people gathered in front and inside a 17th century local church. Greeting Cardinal Glemp, parish priest Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz stressed the historic meaning of his pastoral and ecumenical visit to Belorussia. He stated that the cardinal arrived to Grodno in a year during which many positive changes took place in the church in the Soviet Union. The parish priest added that this meeting, after difficult periods, is with no doubt a result of reconstruction and openness in the Soviet Union.

The pontifical mass celebrated by Cardinal Jozef Glemp gathered many Catholic and Orthodox clergy from Belorussia and Lithuania. The mass was attended by Metropolitan Filaret and by Bishop Niuksh who arrived from Riga.

On his way to the church, Primate Glemp together with Metropolitan Filaret laid flowers at a monument to outstanding Polish writer Eliza Oreszkowa whose works are so much linked with that land. The primate of Poland also laid flowers at the monument to the fallen in the struggle for the liberation of Grodno.

Addresses Parishioners

LD0609153588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1421 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Minsk, 6 Sept (TASS)—TASS correspondent Konstantin Bolotevich reports:

In the recently restored Cathedral Church in Grodno the sermon was preached on 5 September by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. He arrived in Belorussia at the invitation of Filaret, metropolitan of Minsk and Belorussia. In an address to parishioners, the cardinal noted that "the main desire of everyone living on earth is to maintain peace. The earth is our common home, the only one given to mankind. All people must love it." The cardinal called for friendship between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

The Polish guest and those accompanying him viewed the Svyato-Pokroskiy Cathedral and Bernadine Catholic Church in the oblast center. These and many other religious buildings of historical value are especially carefully preserved by the state. Recently three Catholic and two Orthodox churches were reopened in Grodno Oblast at the request of parishioners. Now there are 168 religious communities here. Apart from members of the Orthodox and Catholic churches, who make up the majority of believers, communities of Evangelists, Pentacostalists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Muslims also exist in the oblast.

Today, after visiting the Franciscan church in Grodno, Jozef Cardinal Glemp looked around the main church in Lida and visited the Svyato-Nikolayevskiy church and the Catholic cathedral in Novogrudoko. Here too, he acquainted himself with the exhibition at the Adam Mickiewicz Museum, which holds over 5,000 items describing the life and work of the Polish democrat and poet, who was born here.

Jozef Cardinal Glemp placed flowers at monuments to the victims of fascism in places which he visited. Flowers were also laid at the monument to the Polish woman writer Eliza Orzeszkowa, erected in Grodno on a street which bears her name.

CSSR's Husak Leaves Novosibirsk for Beijing

PM0609101088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to China"]

[Text] Novosibirsk, 3 Sep—CSSR President Gustav Husak was in Novosibirsk 1-3 September, stopping over on his way to the PRC and the DPRK. He was met and seen off at the airport by V.V. Kazarezov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, and other officials.

Gustav Husak visited Akademgorodok, where he studied the work of scientists aimed at ensuring efficient utilization of the region's natural resources, and visited the geological museum. A talk with oblast leaders took place at the oblispolkom.

Beijing, 3 Sep—CSSR President Gustav Husak arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkun.

During a week's stay in China he will hold talks and meetings with Chinese leaders, in the course of which questions of bilateral relations and a number of international problems of mutual interest will be discussed.

PRC President Yang Shangkun held a reception in Gustav Husak's honor today.

Razumovskiy Receives CPCZ Official

LD0309210088 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee Political and Organization Department, paid a visit to the Soviet Union from 29 August through 3 September. He acquainted himself with the implementation of the resolution adopted by the 19th all-union party conference and by this year's July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. He met with Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and had talks at the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Moscow and Leningrad gorkoms. He also visited several enterprises and organizations in Moscow, the Moscow Oblast, and Leningrad.

Ministry Official Reviews 'Prague Spring' Film

LD0309134388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0825 GMT 3 Sep 88

[From the "In Countries of Socialism" program, presented by Vitaliy Konstantinovich Zhuravlev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Central Europe Socialist Countries Department]

[Excerpt] Dear comrades, you are being given the opportunity to watch a film made by Czechoslovak television entitled: "20 Years Ago," devoted to the events of 1968,

which went down in the history of Czechoslovakia under the name Prague Spring. I have no doubt that the film will give you plenty to think about.

There are triumphant anniversaries, such as the 40th anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people and the entry of the country onto the path of building socialism, which was marked this year. There are also tragic anniversaries, such as the 1938 Munich agreement of sad fame, which preceded the fascist enslavement of Czechoslovakia.

The anniversary of the crisis events of 1968 prompts one to think about what a complicated position these events occupy on the historical path of the development and renewal of world socialism. It is also important to do this in light of the attempts being made by the West to equate the process of restructuring which is under way in our society with the path which the forces of internal and external counterrevolution tried to turn the CPCZ to 20 years ago.

The broadcast contains sufficient arguments to draw the conclusion: While there is a general similarity in the problems which had accumulated, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 it was a question of weakening socialism and undermining the continuity of revolutionary ideas. I was working in Czechoslovakia at that time. I rememeber well the hopes that the broad strata of the Czechoslovak people connected with the results of the January 1968 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. The plenum set the task of consolidating CPCZ unity, strengthening its leading role in society, and resolving the problems which had accumulated. All of this opened up the path for eliminating the deformations of socialism and uniting Czechoslovak society on a platform of renewal.

However, this did not occur. Despite the reshuffle in the CPCZ leadership, no unity of action was ensured in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium or the party as a whole. During the stormy political developments, and under pressure from propaganda campaigns in the mass media, the CPCZ gradually lost control over the processes taking place in the country. The voice of antisocialist and anti-Soviet forces was heard ever louder as these forces demanded a review of Czechsolovakia's domestic and foreign policy.

As is noted in the document adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee in December 1970—"The Lessons of the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress"—by the end of August 1968 the party's actions were discredited, and the state apparatus was on the verge of disintegration. The forces capable of rising up to defend the socialist gains were paralyzed.

We are living in the period of restructuring, of seeking nonstandard approaches to resolving topical problems of the socialist community. In the spirit of the new political thinking, socialism's past, including crisis periods in its development, is being subjected to deeper interpretation. In this connection the Czechoslovak television program is of undoubted interest, since it attempts to explain the essence of the complicated Czechoslovak events of 1968 from the position of the present day. [passage omitted]

Direct Economic Ties With CSSR Needed

LD0609110288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] The question of developing direct ties between the CSSR and the USSR remains one of the most important in Czechoslovak-Soviet economic cooperation. Our correspondent in Czechoslovakia, Vladimir Taranov, reports:

[Taranov] At present, about 400 protocols and contracts for establishing direct production, scientific, and technical ties have been signed. Already existing are 1 joint Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprise, 2 joint scientific laboratories, and 13 scientists collectives. But an analysis of these contracts reveals that the majority of enterprises and organizations understand direct ties as being simple bartering. One still encounters cases of contracts for establishing direct ties being signed hastily, without a careful analysis of the expediency and effectiveness of this form of cooperation. This occurs because the majority of Soviet enterprises and organizations that have the right to enter the external market still lack adequate experience in handling foreign trade activity.

The main restraining factors in developing direct ties between Czechoslovak and Soviet organizations and enterprises remain the substantial differences in the economic mechanisms of the national economies. For example, the level of wholesale prices for raw materials and energy resources is higher in the CSSR than in the USSR. Matters relating to planning—especially in developing cooperation within a single sector—material and technical supplies, pricing and other matters, have not been solved. Despite existing problems, the Czechoslovak side is showing a businesslike, constructive approach and commitment in developing direct ties with Soviet partners. The main task in this important work lies in direct ties acquiring specific substance so that enterprises can more quickly become convinced of the effectiveness of this form of cooperation.

West Europe

Petrovskiy Holds Talks With British Officials

Discusses UN Activities

LD0209223388 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] London September 2 TASS—Working consultations between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy and leading officials of the British Foreign Office were held here on August 31-September 1 on the proposals of the British side. Taking part from the

British side in the consultations was Tim Eggar, parliamentary under secretary for foreign and commonwealth affairs, deputy under secretaries and Britain's permanent representative to the U.N.

Questions pertaining to the activities of the U.N. Security Council, the state of things at the international forums and talks on disarmament and on settlement of conflicts and crises were comprehensively examined. An in-depth exchange of views was held on questions pertaining to a further development of the dialogue at the U.N. on forming a system of all-embracing peace and security.

The sides have agreed that the task of strengthening the authority and prestige of that organization through pursuance of realistic policy by all states is becoming today the most important objective of the U.N.

There is also the common view as regards the need for ensuring the prevalence of a political-legal approach to international affairs, complementing bilateral efforts through constructive attitudes by the world community and holding the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session in a business-like, non-confrontational manner.

Views Regional Conflicts

LD0409115888 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] London September 4 TASS—Soviet-British consultations were held here on September 3 on the problems of settling regional conflicts as well as on some disarmament issues. On the Soviet side the consultations were conducted by Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. Taking part in the consultations on the British side were Timothy Eggar, parliamentary undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, John Fretwell, political director of the Foreign Office, Duncan Slater and Patrick Fairweather, assistants to the permanent undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, and Crispin Tickell, permanent representative of the United Kingdom at the United Nations.

The two sides thoroughly considered the state of affairs in the elimination of conflict and crisis situations in various parts of the world. It was pointed out with satisfaction that, following the achievement of Geneva accords on Afghanistan and fulfilment by the Soviet Union of its obligation to withdraw by August 15, 1988 a half of its military contingent from that country, real prospects for finding solutions in other crisis tangles also emerged. Hope was expressed that the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq and the start of talks between them would be followed by the establishment of lasting peace in the region. The importance of the start of headway in a settlement of the situation in the south of Africa and of a new stage in a political solution to the Kampuchean problem was pointed out.

During the consultations the two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East, in Cyprus, in Central America, and in the Korean peninsula. Special emphasis was laid on the fullest and most effective utilisation of the resources of the United Nations Organization in the cause of eliminating the existing seats of tension and preventing the emergence of new ones.

The two sides thoroughly discussed various aspects of the concept of a comprehensive system of international security, the continuation of the dialogue at the United Nations Organization over the concept, and ways to raise U.N. effectiveness. The Soviet side explained in detail the philosophy and practical content of the concept of a comprehensive security system, and emphasized that the concept is aimed at creating reliable guarantees of security in a democratically organized, demilitarised world community.

The sides considered prospects for headway in the cause of banning chemical weapons and reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe as well as disarmament issues which are to be discussed at the U.N. General Assembly's 43rd session which opens soon. The need for persistent efforts to overcome difficulties at the current talks and to intensify the search for consensus formulas on disarmament problems during their discussion at the United Nations was stated.

Mutual understanding of the need for joint action to ensure security in the ecological sphere—a major direction of the struggle against global threats to mankind—was expressed.

Having pointed out the usefulness and productiveness of the consultations which were held in an atmosphere of businesslike approach and openness with regard to the opinion of the other side, representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the British Foreign Office agreed to intensify the in-depth and purposeful talk on the matters discussed with a view to gaining a better understanding of the stands of each other and ensuring an active joint promotion of a settlement of regional conflicts and solutions to other problems.

Farnborough Air Show Features Soviet Planes

AN-124 Flight Aborted

LD0509061288 Moscow TASS in English 0601 GMT 5 Sep 8

[Text] Farnborough (Hampshire County) September 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Biryukov:

The traditional annual air show opened in this British city. Its participants include 675 private and government companies and organizations from dozens of countries. They will show over 100 aircraft of both civil and military designation.

Numerous businessmen, experts, journalists and the first visitors of the 40th air show, who came to the airfield near Farnborough, could inspect the latest choppers, jets, fighters and big transport planes. Soviet planes—the MiG-29 fighter and the world's largest transport plane AN-124—are put on display at the show for the first time. Quite a number of interesting equipment, including for space explorations, are exhibited at indoor pavilions.

After several hours of on-the-ground inspection of aircraft models, spectators saw exhibition flights whose participants included most diverse aircraft: From one-seat midgets with a propeller to sophisticated fighters. The flight of the MiG-29 whose pilot showed top-class mastery, was a sensation. Viewers were upset by the fact that the AN-124 could not show its superb characteristics. A loud bang was heard all of a sudden during the run, literally several seconds before the take-off: A small flame appeared in one of the engines. Though everything ended smoothly, the crew took a decision to put off the flight.

The next few days of the show will be devoted to businessmen and experts. They will be able to study models on display and to conclude contracts. Then the air show will be visited by many dozen thousand of ordinary people.

Soviets Hold News Conference

LD0609141388 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] London September 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Terekhov:

Soviet specialists in the field of aviation and space technology think highly of the annual international air show which started at Farnborough and express gratitude to the British side for the high level of its organisation and the possibility to demonstrate samples of Soviet modern aviation technology. The exhibition enables to give an objective assessment of the achievements of various countries in this field, to exchange experience and to outline main directions in the future development of aircraft building. This statement was made by representatives of the Soviet delegation, including senior officials of the industry, leading designers of aviation technology and test pilots, at a press conference at the USSR Embassy in Britain.

Foreign journalists displayed special interest in the MiG-29 fighters, which are shown in the West for the first time and were hailed by specialists already after the first day of the work of the exhibition as the world-level aircraft. Representatives of the press, in particular, wanted to know why the "Russians" had decided to show to Western experts the possibilities of such advanced and formidable military planes. Replying to this question, Viktor Maksimovskiy, deputy minister of the aviation industry of the USSR, pointed out that the main aim of the USSR, like other countries exhibiting at the current air show, is to display national technical achievements in this field. "The policy of glasnost is gaining momentum in our country, and the presence of Soviet MiGs at Farnborough is the best proof that this is not merely words," he stressed.

Journalists were also interested in the causes of the unsuccessful "debut" of the Soviet heavy transport aircraft AN-124, whose flight was aborted after one of the engines had developed a malfunction. The press conference was told that everything possible was currently done to ensure that the aircraft take part in the exhibition flights. It was stressed that the technical capabilities of AN-124 would have allowed it to take off even with one engine shut down, but the captain's decision to abort the flight should be regarded as correct.

Finnish Prime Minister To Visit 12-17 Sep

LD0609101788 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—It was announced here today that under an agreement reached Prime Minister Harri Holkeri of Finland will pay an unofficial visit to the USSR on September 12-17.

Gerasimov Greets Finnish Communists on Anniversary

PM0509153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Helsinki, 29 Aug—Events dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) have come to a close here. Finnish Communists received numerous greetings from fraternal parties, as well as political and social organizations in Finland itself. A.N. Gerasimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom, representing the CPSU, conveyed greetings from the CPSU Central Committee to the central committees of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) and the Finnish Communist Party (Unity).

New Prospects for Soviet-Turkish Trade Seen

PM0709113088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov report: "Gates of Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] Sarpi, Ankara—The village of Sarpi, on the USSR's border with Turkey, is only a stone's throw from Batumi—a mere 14 km. The geographical proximity of our countries is a weighty advantage for the development of bilateral ties. This advantage will be able to be exploited to a greater degree than hitherto as a result of the crossing point for through motor trafic opened in Sarpi recently.

The main work on the crossing point, on both the Soviet and the Turkish sides, was completed in a record short time, a bridge with two traffic lanes was erected over the border stream, and the road was renovated on our side and built from scratch on the Turkish side.

I asked Turkish Minister of Culture and Tourism T. Titiz how he assesses the opening of the crossing point. This step, the minister replied, is of very great significance for both countries. Our trucks will go to the Soviet Union, and yours will deliver goods to Turkey or pass through in transit for countries of the Near and Middle East. The prospects for the development of tourism are also broad: This region is very beautiful and rich. We have already received many requests from foreign companies for tours around the Black Sea. We are awaiting the arrival of Soviet tourists too. In the future we will be able to cooperate in the construction of hospitals and tourist complexes on both your part and our part of the Black Sea coast. We will also develop cultural contacts in every way.

I saw two trucks going through Sarpi, to the applause of those present: one belonging to the Turkish company "Zikhni," the other to "Sovtransavto." Incidentally, these two companies have agreed to form the first joint Soviet-Turkish motor transport organization.

This is one manifestation of the boosting of trade and economic relations between the neighboring countries. The Turkish construction company Bay-Kur has already begun to build two resort centers at Pitsunda and Makhachkala and the ENKA trade and industry association is going to restore the Petrovskiy Passage in Moscow and build a hospital in Babushkin. Talks are under way on the construction of shoe factores in Alma-Ata and Frunze by Turkish companies. Ships will be repaired and built for our country in the docks of the firm Ertan Balin in Tuzla. The Turkish company "Boomerang" and "Morflot" are to sign an agreement on setting up a joint maritime transport company. It is proposed that the USSR give Turkey assistance in extending the Seydisehir aluminum plant and the Iskenderun metallurgical combine and in building two hydroelectric power stations.

All this will undoubtedly be promoted by direct road communications between our countries via Sarpi.

Only recently both sides called Sarpi the "dead end." Now it is not an impasse, but a key point on a two-way street. Next in line is an agreement on border trade and regular visits by relatives without visas. Sarpi has every right to be called a unique symbol of the present state of Soviet-Turkish relations.

Kohl Cited on FRG-USSR Relations

LD0209211388 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 2 TASS—The prerequisites for invigoration of the FRG-USSR relations are now most favourable. The general improvement of the atmosphere in the relations between the two countries is also of great significance. This was stated by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in an interview to the newspaper RHEIN-ZEITUNG.

Our aim is to promote better mutual understanding, and to develop and broaden on that basis inter-state relations in all spheres. This concerns primarily economic cooperation. It is necessary that we should continue moving toward each other in questions of disarmament. There are also good chances for progress in the area of human rights, the chancellor added.

Antonov Receives FRG Business Delegation

LD0609223888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the USSR-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, today received eminent representatives of business circles of the FRG and Christians, member of the Deutsche Bank board of directors, for a talk. They discussed questions of cooperation between Soviet organizations and the Deutsche Bank.

FRG Foundation Honors Soviet Academician

PM0609150588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "For Her Contribution to Science"]

[Text] Leningrad—The ceremonial presentation of the West German "F.F.S." Foundation's prize for achievement in the natural and humanitarian sciences was held here yesterday. For the first time the prizewinner was a woman—the well-known sociologist Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya. She heads the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion.

The winner's commemorative medal was presented by Dr A. Tepfer, head of the foundation. He stressed that the foundation was expressing its respect for Soviet women scholars and their contribution to the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union.

German Communists Hold Plenary Session

LD0509034588 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy reports:

A regular plenary meeting of the board of the German Communist Party [DKP] came to a close in Dusseldorf today. For two days its participants discussed topical questions connected with the struggle of the party for peace, disarmament and social progress, as well as preparations of German Communists for the 11th congress of the party due to be held in Frankfurt on the Main next January.

Herbert Mies who made a report at the plenary meeting pointed out that the coming congress would be extremely important for the development of the party. "Profound changes took place during a period that has elapsed since the 8th Congress of the German Communist Party. This is why the question on what direction the development should take is extremely topical today. Considerable changes took place as well in the internal development of the party", he said.

Touching upon a draft document dealing with the situation and future development of the party drawn up for the congress by a party commission, Mies pointed out that it outlined the direction of the party's development primarily as a revolutionary party of the working class guided at this crucial moment by the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The German Communist Party, Mies continued, is a party which possesses the strength and the ability to draw conclusions useful to itself from the perestroyka process in the Soviet Union and in the CPSU with due account for the conditions of the Federal Republic of Germany. The party should clear itself today from all that is obsolete, should preserve and further develop the revolutionary traditions of the German Communist Party, the chairman of the party pointed out.

He called attention to the existence in some party organizations of various opinions concerning ways of a further development of the German Communist Party and criticized the attempts made by some of its members to turn it into a pluralist party.

PCI Leader Urges 'Revision' of Perspective

LD0409162288 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Rome September 4 TASS—Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), in an interview with L'UNITA newspaper, has pointed out the need for a joint revision of world historical experience.

"The point is to find, upon recognising the actual interdependence of world processes, a way out of such a situation when a split, contraposition between East and West is observed. At present there are possibilities for taking such a road," he said. The leader of the Italian Communists emphasized that a determining role in this process belongs to the toiling masses and peoples.

"Our quest," he said, "should center on guarantees of rights and on the fact that new socialist rights must emerge under conditions of freedom. This leads to a reassessment of socialism, its dynamics and historical role. Our quest is aimed at regrouping democratic and socialist forces of the West, beginning from joint efforts by all socialist forces of our continent. In this sense we feel that we are part of European left-wing forces. We solidarise with the new course of the USSR and with the strengthening of the Democratic Party of the USA."

"I would say that we must begin to think differently, abandoning the logic of blocs," Achille Occhetto emphasized. "We should realise that there is only one world, and not two or three."

Latin America & Caribbean

Komplektov Comments on Nicaragua Situation

LD0309123488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1740 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has announced that the Sandinist People's Army's unilateral cessation of offensive operations against the armed counterrevolutionary forces is to be extended until 30 September this year. That step is a new contribution to the implementation of the Guatemala accords on a settlement in Central America. The situation in the region and ways to eliminate the regional conflict are the subject of an interview given to our correspondent by Viktor Georgiyevich Komplektov, deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Has the past year not shown that the only country that has really seriously adhered to the Guatemala agreements is Nicaragua?

[Komplektov] That is true, if one is talking in concrete terms. Nonetheless, however, I think one ought not to belittle the significance and stances of the other Central American countries, because it is precisely along the dividing line between Nicaragua and the other Central American countries that the battle is being fought. There are also certain outside forces who are not too keen on achieving a just political settlement, and they want to drive a wedge between Nicaragua and the other Central American countries. Therefore, we should not completely disregard the stances of the other countries or regard them as negative. Not by any means. In this connection, I would like to recall that the Guatemala idea actually came from Costa Rica's President Arias. It's another matter that it has been implemented first and foremost thanks to Nicaragua's efforts and to the stances adopted by the Sandinists during the Guatemala meeting and after, during its implementation. But, of course, as practice has shown, as the facts show, until now it is Nicaragua that has done this most.

[Correspondent] Do you think that this period of time has shown that the main obstacle to a settlement in Central America is the stance of the United States? After all, without the help the United States gives to the armed formations it would probably be impossible to prolong the conflict.

[Komplektov] I think you have already answered your own question. Yet we can probably discuss this in slightly broader terms, in the sense that the U.S. stance is not quite so simplistic. It is not only a matter of supporting the contras, though that is probably the

central element in their position. It is broader than that. While we are on the subject of the United States hampering the settlement process, I would like to draw attention to the following very serious aspect. There is a thesis being used—one which appeared not today, but virtually at the time of the Sandinists' victory—that a Sandinist Nicaragua is a threat to neighboring countries, and even to the United States. I would like to concentrate briefly on the claim that a Sandinist Nicaragua is allegedly alien to Central America, and Latin America in general. I think the Nicaraguans are giving a fairly clear and cogent reply to this claim. They are answering not only in words, but in their policies and in their Constitution, where it is distincly enshrined: The Sandinist movement and Nicaragua's present government base their actions on three principles. This is important to note—political pluralism within the country—and this is really the case, since there are several parties there; mixed economy, which means that a significant role is played by the private sector, which the Sandinists are stimulating; and finally, a policy of nonalignment. Incidentally, Nicaragua is one of the most active members of the Nonaligned Movement. I want to stress all of these points to prove that the pretexts and arguments being put forward to substantiate the claim that Nicaragua is alien to other countries is completely unfounded.

There's something else I'd like to mention, which is also very indicative. You are well aware that problems relating to regional conflicts constitute one aspect of the Soviet-U.S. discussions on the whole range of issues, both international and bilateral. But it so happens that Central America always comes somewhere at the bottom of the priority list. The U.S. devotes less attention, so to speak, to the possibility of constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union on this subject.

[Correspondent] What do you think is the reason for this?

[Komplektov] I think it's due to a very simplified understanding of their national interests, to an exclusively geographical and arithmetic understanding which doesn't help things. I think it is quite wrong. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you think that today there exist serious prospects for settling this protracted conflict?

[Komplektov] Yes, I think there are. Such prospects do exist. Let us sum things up a bit to start with. The first things to strike the serious observer, of course, are the difficulties and the problems which the settlement process is coming up against. Nonetheless, if we were to try and sum up the situation now, we have to compare it to the situation, let's say, 3 years ago. Things are certainly better, things are better. The process is continuing, though perhaps slowly, despite the problems and difficulties. The positive elements, in my view, are first, that the Guatemala agreement as such remains, and the various actions are taking place within the framework. On the whole, I consider—and the Nicaraguan leadership has stated this—that nobody has renounced the Sapoa agreement. That well-known agreement anticipated the talks and the possibility of achieving some kind of accord within the framework of the conflict between the Sandinistas and the armed opposition. That's the second thing. Third, and this ensues from the Sapoa agreement, the cease-fire in Nicaragua is being de facto extended on the initiative of the Sandinist front. Though there have been skirmishes, above all on the initiative of the contras, there are no large-scale hostilities, and this must be kept in mind. One further point is that despite all the U.S. Administration's endeavors, the question of military assistance to the contras has not been resolved. The latest decision in Congress, though it perhaps wasn't quite so clear-cut as the previous one, in general restricts that assistance to the humanitarian sphere alone. That is, in a purely legislative form there is no military assistance.

As for the prospects, I think we ought to say that more should and must be done. Above all, it is a matter of bringing the Central American settlement—a process which used to be at the forefront in comparison with other regions—up to the current level of the overall trend toward political settlements, whether in Cambodia, southern Africa, the Iran-Iraq conflict, or Afghanistan. It has to be brought up to that level. What is needed here is an increase in international interest and concern over the situation in Central America, and to achieve a settlement. Of particular importance here, of course, are the stances of the Central American countries, the Contadora group, and its support group, which I consider to be insufficiently active at the moment for a whole range of reasons. Overall, I would like to note the following: A truly unique kind of political infrastructure has been set up involving the five Central American countries, Contadora and its support group, and the UN and OAS representatives of the secretary general—even their personal participation. These are very important and solid foundations, and if they can be activated as was originally envisaged and as they began to function, I think the political settlement will proceed much faster and will produce results in Central America. [end recording]

Contras Reportedly Abducting Civilians To Fight

LD0309101488 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Managua September 3 TASS—In recent days the contra gangs, which are on Washington's payroll, have abducted ten peaceful civilians in various parts of Nicaragua. As the Republic's Defense Ministry said, there are women and children among the abducted persons. Their destiny and whereabouts are unknown. It is thought that the bandits could forcibly send the people captured by them to their bases outside the country.

Hardly a week passes without reports reaching about new abductions of Nicaraguan peasants by the bandits. The question of the immediate return home of peaceful civilians captured by force was raised by the Sandinist government at the talks with the armed counterrevolutionary

leaders, which were held in Sapoa and Managua. Yet the contra chiefs were trying to evade any answer. Until now they are disregarding the demand of the people and the government of the Republic for the return home of all the abducted Nicaraguans without exception.

According to the local public organisations and some international associations in defense of human rights, the CIA mercenaries are now detaining some 6,000 peaceful Nicaraguan citizens. They are being forced to take up arms and fight against their own people. Those who object against that, are as a rule executed. As is pointed out in the statement of the National Union of Land Farmers and Stock Rearers issued here on Friday, over the eight years of war the contras killed more than 5,000 peasants for refusing to betray their own people.

Consultations With Peru on UN Agenda Noted

PM0209115988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Peruvian consultations on the agenda for the 43d UN General Assembly session were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 29-30 August. The Peruvian delegation was headed by L.F. Galvez, chief of the Peruvian Foreign Ministry United Nations and Non-aligned Movement Department. Following the consultations the Peruvian representatives were received by V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Talks With Jamaica Cited

PM0209120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Jamaican consultations on the main questions of the agenda for the forthcoming 43d UN General Assembly session and various aspects of bilateral relations were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 29-30 August. Taking part in the consultations were, on the Jamaican side: E.F. Francis, permanent secretary at the Jamaican Foreign Ministry; L. Barnett, Jamaican permanent representative to the United Nations; and G.G. Duncan, Jamaican ambassador to the USSR; and on the Soviet side: V.L. Oleandrov, chief of the International Organizations Administration, and senior officials from a number of other USSR Foreign Ministry subunits.

The Jamaican Foreign Ministry representatives were received by V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Trial of Churbanov, Others

Bribe-Taking Detailed

LD0509131288 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 5 Sep 88

["Churbanov Trial—Indictment Is Read"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

The court, which went into its first session in Moscow today, is to examine over 1,500 episodes of the illegal activity of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, and eight heads of internal affairs agencies of Uzbekistan. Testimony from five hundred witnesses will be heard during the sitting of the court, which is expected to last for over two months.

A guard of five soldiers of the Interior Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs stands round the dock where nine defenders sit. It is changed every half an hour. The senior of them looks to be not more than twenty years-old and his eyes open wide each time when the figure of another bribe is named: "five thousand, fifteen thousand, a hundred and ninety thousand, two hundred thousand".

The preliminary investigation found that Churbanov accepted the absolute majority of bribes when being away on business trip. There were twenty such business trips from 1979 to 1982. The total sum of all bribes is almost 657,000 rubles. While holding the post of first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, Churbanov by all kind of malfeasance in office caused damage to the state running into almost 16,000 rubles.

During the preliminary invesigation Khaydar Yakhyayev, former minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan, confirmed facts of giving illegal payments to Churbanov. "I was a very influential man in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs as well", he said. Today, Yakhyayev said without being consistent that he did not know altogether what he was brought to court for.

Defense Motions Reported

LD0509131788 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Today is the first day of a trial of the case of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, and eight former staff members of the agencies for internal affairs of Uzbekistan. The trial began unexpectedly. Khaydar Yakhyayev, former minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan, stated that he did not understand at all what for criminal proceedings had been instituted against him.

Churbanov sat in the dock, wearing a shirt without a tie. He was pale, with bags under his eyes. He did not react to numerous cameras and was looking into the audience with an air of detachment. The other defendants were sitting with downcast eyes or covering their faces with their hands.

Then the defence lawyers of Churbanov, Yakhyayev, and Dzhamal Dzhamalov, former head of the Board of Internal Affairs of one of Uzbekistan's regions, made a number of applications. In particular, the defence lawyers of Churbanov requested to attach to the case a number of additional documents and copies of articles which had appeared in Soviet publications as well as to summon Telman Gdlyan, investigator of the procurator's office of the USSR who had investigated the case, to appear in court as witness and to question him. The defence lawyer of Yakhyayev, pleading ill health of his client, requested that the measure to secure the appearance of the defendant—custody—be changed and replaced by bail and recognizance not to leave. Yakhyayev himself added that he suffered physical discomfort riding in a prison van. It must be said that this pronouncement evoked smiles among those present in the court room.

The court adjourned for half an hour deliberation. After resumption of the court session the presiding officer, Major General of Justice Mikhail Marov, deputy chairman of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, announced that it was decided to satisfy all applications except two of them, namely those about summoning Gdlyan to appear in court as witness, on the grounds of its being inexpedient, and about changing the measure to secure the appearance of defendant Yakhyayev.

During the deliberation the court studied once again the findings of the forensic examination and arrived at a conclusion that they fully enable Yakhyayev to be present in the court-room and to give testimony. As far as 'riding discomfort' is concerned, someone made the following remark on that score: 'He rode for long in luxury cars. More convenient limousines for the transportation of him as a defendant have not been invented'.

Norbutayev Absent on 2d Day

LD0609094188 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The trial of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy interior minister of the USSR, resumed today at the Hall of the USSR Supreme Court, with one of his eight co-defendants absent due to heart trouble.

He is Khushvan Norbutayev, former chief of the Interior Department of the Kashkadariy Region Executive Committee of the Uzbek SSR.

Norbutayev's attorney therefore proposed that the reading of the indictment, which began on Monday, be interrupted, and that there should be an interval in the court's session. The reading of the detailed five-volume indictment is expected to last a few days, and the trial itself—for 2-3 months. Therefore the court, on having had a consultation on the spot, decided not to postpone the hearing of the indictment and continue it in the part which does not involve Norbutayev. This is "no violation of the judicial procedure", said Mikhail Marov, a member of the USSR Supreme Court, who presides over the trial.

Journalists call this criminal case "the Churbanov trial", by the name of the most high-placed of the defendants.

Makarov: Trial Not 'Political'

LD0609104688 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The bribe-taking trial, and this is what the trial of former Soviet First Deputy Interior Minister Yuriy Churbanov and a number of former senior officials of Uzbekistan's bodies of internal affairs is about, primarily reflects the trend towards the moral purification of society. This statement was made by Churbanov's lawyer Andrey Makarov, candidate of legal science.

"Already on the second day of the trial," Makarov, who is member of the Moscow City Bar Association, said in a TASS interview, "I heard that many Western mass media were trying to make it politically coloured, explaining it by Churbanov's family connections." "Early today," he continued, "I learned with surprise that Churbanov's lawyer allegedly said on the Voice of America yesterday that attempts were being made to make his client into a scapegoat. Churbanov can be only guilty of what he has done. The measure of his guilt will be determined by the court and only the court."

This is not a political trial, Makarov stressed. Bribe-taking was always considered throughout the world a criminal offense, and it is the gravity of criminal offenses committed by them rather than political status that decides whether to institute proceedings against people charged with bribery or not.

Case Against Yakhyayev Viewed

LD0609124388 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The former interior minister of Uzbekistan, 60-year-old Khaydar Yakhyayev, is charged with taking more than 145,000 roubles in bribes. Together with Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy interior minister of the USSR, and some other former heads of the bodies of internal affairs of Uzbekistan, he is in the dock at the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow. The reading of the indictment continues here today.

Today Yakhyayev is not as imperturbable as yesterday. He mainly looks down, trying not to look at people in the court. Yakhyayev accepted money and brandy as bribes in exchange for his protection. According to the indictment, he sent brandy to Moscow to former interior minister of the USSR, Shchelokov. Yakhyayev's activity was aptly characterised by one of the former workers of the bodies of internal affairs of Uzbekistan: "He became totally impudent, if before 1,000 roubles was enough, now you could not approach him without 3,000."

The evidence of the case fills 110 volumes, nearly 1,500 pages of the indictment. Members of the court believe that the trial can drag out for three months because 500 witneses are to be heard and more than 1,500 episodes of the defendant's illegal activity are to be sorted out.

Former Minister Implicated

LD0609124588 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow september 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

During the reading of the indictment today at the trial of Yuriy Churbanov, former first deputy minister of the interior of the USSR, and a number of top officials of Uzbekistan's Interior Ministry, the facts of bribe-taking by Nikolay Shchelokov, former minister of internal affairs of the USSR, were disclosed.

The bribes were given, in particular, by Khaydar Yakhyayev, former minister of internal affairs of Uzbekistan. The total size of the bribes he gave to Shchelokov between 1970 and 1979 is nearly 106,000 roubles. The bribes involved not only money but also fruit, cognac, gold jewellery and strings of pearls. This was disclosed by Yakhyayev himself in a September 2, 1985, statement to the prosecutor general of the USSR.

According to the indictment, Yakhyayev explained this by the need to "win protection in the successful struggle against crime in the republic." There was a moment when relations between Shchelokov and Yakhyayev became strained following the latter's involvement in the investigation into the crimes of senior party and government officials in Uzbekistan. The former minister advised him "to mind his own business" and was dissatisfied with Yakhyayev. The amount of the bribes had to be sharply increased to return the favours of the "boss".

Listening to all this is not pleasant. More unpleasant facts will be disclosed in the course of court proceedings which can drag out for three months, because there are 500 witnesses and the evidence fills 110 volumes. I want to quote Churbanov's lawyer Andrey Makarov: "The

Churbanov trial is a usual bribe-taking trial. However, the very fact of starting proceedings against officials, who were until quite recently 'taboo', testifies to the process of moral purification of our society."

Bribery, Defendants Considered

LD0609131588 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Itkin reports:

People sitting in the dock always look pitiful. This lot did not fail to befall those who are now tried by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR either. Nine ex-staffers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, former members of the party, people with higher education, whose average age approaches 55, are sitting on a long bar which is separated from the hall by a parapet. They are sitting in a row. The last on the left, if one is to look from the courtroom, is Churbanov, and the last from the right is Yakhyayev.

The court got down to the reading of the indictment which was signed by T. Gdlyan, senior investigating officer examining cases of exceptional importance in the office of procurator-general of the USSR, and endorsed by A. Katusev, deputy procurator-general of the USSR.

The most standard types of bribing were revealed during the preliminary investigation: for cronyism, for appointment to office or promotion, and for connivance and failure to take adequate measures against the offender. Bribes were given on pain of removing from the office held, for the supply of hard-to-buy materials, for concealing compromising information or for a document on the checked material, which is wishful for a bribe-giver. There were bribes in the form of delicious food and presents, bribes-taxes paid periodically in the fixed amount....

The circumstance that the command and administrative style of leadership was fostered in the republic was conducive to the development of negative phenomena. The personality cult, ostentatious activities, the cover up of shortcomings, the violation of the principle of the selection and placement of personnel had asserted themselves exactly in that period.

Not only the number of personnel involved in crimes committed to derive personal gain, but also the size of confiscated multi-million valuables demonstrate the scope of corruption among personnel of various departments. For instance, six million rubles worth of valuables were confiscated from Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara regional committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, the value of luxuries confiscated from Muzaffarov, head of the organisation to combat theft of socialist property of the Bukhara regional executive committee, amounted to upwards of 1.5 million rubles, from Kudratov, director of the Bukhara trade department, to 4.5 million rubles ..., etc.

...People sitting in the dock always draw pity. Churbanov is pale, his eyes are lacklustre, he manages with difficulty to give short and precise answers to the presiding judge the way military men do. Yakhyayev came to the courtroom wearing a national Uzbek embroidered skull-cap and seems considerably older than his age without the shoulder straps of lieutenant-general. Red-eyed Begelman now and again lowers his gaze because of shame.

The dock...there are no former Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR Shchelokov, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Uzbekistan Ergashev, and the republic's first deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Davydov in it. [sentence as received] The indictment reads as follows about these people "...during the preliminary investigation their involvement in the crimes committed was proved in full measure. However, fearing retribution for what they had done, they committed suicide. In view of this, the suits against them were abated".

2d Day Summarized

LD0609174188 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

One person was missing in the dock today as the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union continued proceedings at the trial here of former first deputy Minister for the Interior Ministry officials.

Defendant Khushvan Norbutayev was unable to attend today's sitting for health reasons.

The sitting was not interrupted, however, as the presiding judge, Mikhail Marov, said that "the hearing of the indictment in the absence of Norbutayev in the part not related to him does not violate the procedural rights of the defendant."

Churbanov's defence lawyer, Andrey Makarov, told TASS that the trial was not in the least political, as Western mass media claimed, referring to Churbanov's relatives.

"Bribery has been a felony throughout the world at all times, and bringing people accused of taking bribes to account is determined by the gravity of the crimes they have committed. The trial will determine the measure of guilt of every one."

Any person, including representatives of the Soviet and foreign press, may attend the reading of the charge sheet. The only restriction is the availability of seats in the court-room.

The figure 145,000 roubles was mentioned at today's reading of the indictment. This sum was allegedly taken in bribes by former Uzbekistan Minister for the Interior Khaydar Yakhyayev. Many facts from his "activity" were revealed today, and the defendant apparently felt ill at ease in the dock. The court was told that Yakhyayev gave a total of nearly 106,000 roubles in bribes to former Minister for the Interior of the USSR Nikolay Shchelokov.

In the opinion of Makarov, "the Churbanov trial is an ordinary bribery trial. But the fact that officials until recently considered out of reach have been brought to trial is evidence of the processes of moral purification taking place in our society."

The Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court will continue the reading of the charge sheet tomorrow.

Editorial Calls for Elections Based on Ability
PM0609160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Best Should Be Leaders; Reports and Elections Are Beginning in Primary Party Organizations"]

[Text] These days PRAVDA has started getting a great many more letters discussing the work of primary party organizations, their committees and bureaus. Communists write about their leaders openly and confidently, without hiding problems. These revelations are particularly numerous on the eve of the routine reports and elections in primary party organizations. Understandably. The 19th all-union party conference defined further major paths of restructuring, and people are far from indifferent as to who will lead them to implementing the tasks set.

"N. Gruzdo, our party committee secretary, has a marvelous rule of going around the enterprise shops every day, having conversations right by the machine tools, finding out about the most painful problems firsthand, so to speak" is how a letter began from V. Baranov, who works at the Volgograd Steel Cable Plant. "The secretary not only has a sound knowledge of all aspects of production but also knows many of the plant workers; he even knows their names and patronymics. Nikolay Fedorovich participates energetically in almost all our good work. It is important that the party secretary has support and respect 'from above' and 'from below.' All questions which arise are discussed keenly in the party organization. This situation has greatly helped to increase discipline and raise labor productivity and has turned the enterprise into one of the leaders in the sector."

From human relations to economic and social changes. These are the work principles of many party committees and bureaus today. Primary organizations are the key link where the party's tried-and-tested word is converted into action. If they do not work, then not a single directive adopted will work, whether it is a question of implementing radical economic reform or the Food Program, of improving administration or the service sphere.

The reports and elections which are beginning have many peculiarities. For example, it is becoming more and more firmly established that communists are putting forward as leaders two and even more candidates. Yes, sometimes conflicts flare up. The extraordinary nature of the situation frightens some people, who want things to be done "as soon as possible," "without any fuss." But this is the only way democracy can be learned, even if mistakes are made. And nonstandard decisions only confirm that there are many people in every collective capable of leading the primary party organizations. The main concern is to search for them and find them.

Greater demands are now being made of those who have been entrusted with the leadership of primary party organizations. First and foremost, the old command and bureaucratic work methods should be discarded more resolutely. One can understand some party committee or bureau secretaries who are dying to produce more paperwork and to compile more and more plans. Habit is second nature, they say. It seems that if a loose-leaf binder is not on hand then everything will collapse. And how much effort is frequently wasted on completely unnecessary fuss, empty conferences, and fruitless fusses about meetings!

S. Popov, party bureau secretary at the Kolomensk Ferroconcrete Products Plant, shared his interesting thoughts with the editorial office. He gave some extremely clear examples of interference with his work: Mountains of paperwork and extraneous duties.... But there are those in which the author of the letter mostly blames himself. "We shall consider my weakness to be that I take too much on my own shoulders; I cannot rouse to action the party bureau members or all the Communists at the enterprise. I work at least 12 hours a day, including weekends. At home I am like a lodger. And sometimes I do not see specific results."

This was said quite openly. Yes, if the party leader is not avoiding work and worries, he has very little time left to himself. This work is very hard and requires a great deal of dedication. But of course, one should do not everything oneself and succumb to endless routine. The most successful party committee and bureau secretaries are those who can organize an aktiv around themselves and who firmly reject the office style and go to the people. Their reliable support and assistance is there in life's midst. This work will not be trouble-free or easier, but it will be more efficient.

The democracy that is developing today, like an X-ray, helps us to see better both the virtues and the failings in the leadership of each primary party organization.

Weigh them up more carefully, Comrade Communists, give more weight to collective consultations and give more thought to whom to elect to the party bureau or committee!

Keeping to the point—this is what life requires from, let's put it bluntly, the very crucial campaign which has begun. It is necessary to assess what has been done honestly, in a principled manner and profoundly, and one's place in restructuring needs to be defined. This is precisely how the meetings passed in the majority of party groups, although in some places they did not manage without regimentation and formalism. In one instance the higher organs stage-managed the "measure," and in another people in the party organizations themselves kept silent.

In a word, there are lessons, and they should not be ignored. A clear work platform must be worked out in the primary party organizations for the reelected secretary, bureau, party committee, and the entire party organization. This is the reference point for their joint actions. It is bad when leaders are elected not for their professional and moral qualities, not for their principle and their organizational abilities, but because they are "representative." It is twice as bad when this is done in spite of collective opinion, and three times as bad when it is contrary to the will of the person himself.

A secondary school in Zelenograd Rayon, Kaliningrad Oblast was unable to resolve a conflict among the teachers. Both the local press and the higher organs were forced to sort it out. As a result all they could do was to replace the secretary of the primary party organization—that same person who was against violations in holding examinations, the leadership's command and administrative work style, and lies and subservience rife in the school. Another leader was "elected," someone who taught the junior classes who stated her program thus: "I warned that I would be useless as a secretary. But the raykom supported my candidacy." This was the situation that teacher Ye. Chinchik reported to us.

As we see, they used the practice still current whereby the leader essentially is not elected but nominated. Such a practice must be decisively eliminated from our party life. Communists' principle and their ability to defend their viewpoint must be demonstrated as fully as possible now, during the reports and elections. What kind of person are you, future Secretary, and what stand do you take? This is the question which will inevitably arise at meetings. And each party committee will have to provide a quite definite answer.

The decisions of the 19th all-union party conference have given a lead to the entire party. Glasnost and democracy are making more confident and firm headway, and the restructuring processes are proceeding more vigorously. A very great deal depends on the primary party organizations now. Competence and initiative, efficiency and obligation are coming to the fore in their activity. Only the person who has these qualities can make others follow him.

Role of 'Memorial' for Repression Victims

PM0609150788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "'Memorial.' An Important Step Has Been Taken in Implementing the Idea of a Memorial Complex to the Victims of the Repressions"]

[Text] Ales Adamovich described the creation of the All-Union "Memorial" Historical Enlightenment Society as a "precedent for new relations between society and state, a precedent for true self-management" when speaking at an enlarged session of the organizational committee held in Moscow's Central House of Architects.

The composition of the public committee that is assuming responsibility for implementing the idea of a memorial was announced at the session. At the action group's suggestion to perpetuate the memory of the victims of the repressions of the twenties to the fifties, this public committee was set up on the basis of proposals from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and OGONEK readers and on the basis of the opinions of Muscovites expressed in the course of oral polls. The members of the public committee include the following: writers G. Baklanov and V. Bykov; Academicians D. Likhachev and A. Sakharov; historians Yu. Afanasyev and R. Medvedev; playwright M. Shatrov; USSR People's Artist M. Ulyanov, and others (the committee's composition is still not final as the results of polls in other cities are not known).

The public committee formed a working organ—the executive committee—which includes representatives of all the founding organizations of the new all-union society: four of the country's creative unions—architects, cinematographers, theater workers, and artists (another union—the designers' union—joined the founders during the session itself); LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and OGONEK; members of the action group; and also A. Stroyev, chief of the Moscow City Main Administration for the Construction of Engineering Installations. V. Glazychev, secretary of the USSR Union of Architects Board, was elected chairman of the executive committee.

By the beginning of next year the executive committee must make known the conditions of the Memorial project competition, which will be constructed using public funds (we remind you of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development financial department account number—700454. The public committee will manage the account, as LITERATURNAYA GAZETA suggested).

We are publishing a speech made by writer Anatoliy Rybakov, member of the public committee, at the enlarged session of the organizational committee.

Stalin, the system he created, and the "leaders" he brought to power did not only inflict economic, social, and political damage on our society. We did not only lose millions of people. Equally terrible are the moral losses, the fear in which people lived, the demoralization, amorality, immorality, and servility which Stalin inculcated in our society and in every one of us.

When one man thought for everyone, people stopped thinking. When one man made decisions for everyone, people lost the ability to make decisions for themselves—that is the reason for our backwardness. Progress can only be made when people think freely, make independent decisions, and show initiative; this is the essence of restructuring.

That is why the main problem of restructuring is to purify the moral atmosphere in society. We will only be able to restructure our society by creating a different psychological climate, completely freeing man from terror, affirming in people respect for other people's property, developing in everyone freedom of thought and the ability to make independent decisions, encouraging initiative and enterprise, and strengthening the state based on the rule of law in which arbitrary rule and lawlessness will be impossible (for it will be controlled by glasnost).

It is in this process of moral restructuring and in the process of moral purification and renewal that Memorial must also find a place for itself.

The practical ways will be elaborated by Memorial's activity itself. Memorial (as a monument) will probably not be on its own. I believe that it must be built in many cities and also at Solovki, Kolyma, Vorkuta, Mordovia, and other places where people were incarcerated and sometimes exterminated.

Can we say that this is a memorial to those who perished without trace? No, we know for whom the monument will be erected. Perhaps we don't know all their names, but sooner or later we will find them out. This is also one of Memorial's tasks.

Can we say that this is a monument to people who were absolutely innocent?

Yes, the overwhelming majority of these people were guilty of nothing, victims of arbitrary rule and lawlessness, victims of the mass terror organized by Stalin, and victims of his policy of fear. Unfortunately, we cannot say this about everyone. Yes! Everyone was wrongly convicted, but weren't there some people who had at one time wrongly convicted others? Weren't there people among them who reinforced Stalin's personal dictatorship and who then fell victims to his tyranny? People who set the engine of repression in motion and who were then smashed under its wheels? Those who supported the tyrant with their pens, voices, or raised hands, and then became his victims?

Who will gauge their culpability and on what scales? Some comrades claim (I quote them verbatim): "The Memorial to the memory of the victims of Stalinism must ideally be these scales."

It is hard for me to agree with this.

Themis, the goddess of justice, and Nemesis, goddess of retribution, used to be depicted with scales in their hands.

I think that neither goddess can be Memorial's emblem.

Memorial is not being created for retribution, for retribution knows no bounds. If we begin with retribution I don't know where we'll end up. Enough! Enough blood has been shed in our motherland.... Let's leave room for penitence and redemption....

But Memorial has not been set up as a court either. No one has invested or can invest it with judicial functions. On the contrary, it is Memorial's task to fight to ensure that no one—apart from a legitimate court—can award themselves judicial functions. Too many people before have accorded themselves these functions and this has cost us too dearly! We advocate a state based on the rule of law.

Memorial must eternally remind the people of the results of concentrating power in one person's uncontrolled hands and the results of deifying an individual.

Memorial must eternally remind mankind that history leaves no lawlessness unpunished, no crime forgotten, and no tyranny unexposed and uncondemned.

Memorial must remind every citizen that if he does not defend his neighbors, his colleagues, and other people from lawlessness and arbitrary rule, he himself will also ultimately become their victim. There is nothing more valuable than a human life, nothing loftier than human dignity!

Memorial must remind us of how low man can fall when he has lost courage and to what peaks of human spirit he can rise if he realizes himself as a man.

Memorial must be a symbol of law and legality, a symbol of humanity, love of one's fellow men, compassion, and respect for the human individual and human dignity.

Memorial is a monument of grief for the millions of wasted lives, and at the same time a monument to the triumph of justice.

Memorial is a reminder and a warning.

Public Funding TV Film on Stalin Repressions

PM0609113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Gennadiy Beglov, author and film director, by S. Chesnokov under the rubric "Television Viewers To Finance Shooting of Film": "'Dossier on Myself'" in Leningrad; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The above is to be the name of a film about the victims of Stalin's repressions. Journalist S. Chesnokov talked to the author and director, Gennadiy Beglov.

[Beglov] It was a shock. Even for me, a person who has seen a great deal in his lifetime. This shock is still with me today—from the moment when I was literally swamped with an avalanche of letters in response to my address on Leningrad television. They are painful to read. But not only that.

[Chesnokov] Your address or, to be more precise, your appeal on television was out of the ordinary. But first let us talk about "Dossier on Myself," which very few people have yet heard of.

[Beglov] Yes, we are really talking about single figures, although I wrote the novel 20 years ago. It is a novel about the victims of Stalin's repressions who, even if they were lucky and stayed alive (myself among them), must still be emotionally scarred. At the time the manuscript was read only by my friends and relatives. One of them, Gleb Panfilov, was very eager to make a film based on the novel. But our hopes remained just that!—hopes. For a long time, 2 decades.

[Chesnokov] It could have been even longer if others had not taken an active stand. As far as I am aware, the director Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tovstonogov intervened.

[Beglov] I have a lot to be grateful to him for. It was he who, after reading "Dossier," became very excited and said: "And something like this has been lying in a drawer?! Let's phone NEVA immediately and talk to Nikolskiy." And the chief editor of the journal did indeed give the novel the "green light." It will be coming out in issues 9 and 10.

[Chesnokov] As a director, of course, you could not fail to have the idea of making the novel into a film.

[Beglov] I had the idea, yes, but I did not immediately decide to be the director myself. I telephoned G. Panfilov, but he is busy for the next 2-3 years, working on the film "Mother." So I phoned another colleague, who gave me an answer which decided a great deal: "To make this kind of film you have to have experienced the hell of Stalin's repressions yourself, otherwise it will not ring true. Don't look for anyone else, direct the film yourself." That is what I decided to do.

[Chesnokov] That was when your problems began.

[Beglov] But of a quite different kind, nothing to do with the creative side. The difficulty arose because "Lenfilm," where everything is planned in advance, could not find the money for the test film which, if successful, would become part of the future movie. It was then, on behalf of the client—the movie fund of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Union of Cinematographers—that I appealed on local television for help in financing the shooting of the film. A special account has even been opened, through which anyone who wishes can send their money: Leningrad, Operu, 1, Leningrad Oblast Administration of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, Account No 34000700096, "Test Film."

[Chesnokov] It did not worry you that this kind of appeal had never been made by a cinematographer before?

[Beglov] No, because this will not be my film but a film for the whole nation, about a misfortune and tragedy that concerns everyone.

[Chesnokov] I know that you yourself have put R500 into the account and agreed to work without any royalties.

[Beglov] Yes. After all, this is not just a personal matter we are talking about here but something far more important. I had thought, for example, that only people living in Leningrad and cities close by would hear of our suggestion. But money orders have poured in from everywhere—from Tallinn, Kharkov, Shuya, Kostroma, Yerevan, Tashkent, Novosibirsk.... People have sent as much as R10, R50, even R300, while others have sent just R1. And the letters.... Here are just a few lines: "I managed to find some money for the film from my pension—in memory of my parents, who were victims of the repression in 1937. M.S., Moscow." "I believe that your film will be about hope and about how people do not die, how they cannot be broken. Marina Libina, Leningrad." "Our relatives suffered during the years of the repressions. May the film be a memorial to them, may God help you. From a lady called Klava"....

[Chesnokov] Judging by these lines, the people who have responded are mainly those affected by that time?

[Beglov] That is not quite true: The misfortune is also felt by young people, even the very young. One 12-year-old girl who had been saving her money, as I learned from her letter, for a fashionable Western record sent her savings for the open account: "Uncle, please take my money too."

[Chesnokov] But not all the money that people wanted to send has actually been sent. I know about this from telephone calls to Leningrad newspapers' editorial offices: People have been complaining that not all Leningrad postal workers have accepted the money orders.

[Beglov] I too am aware of this. All kinds of excuses have been given, even the one that the address of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development is not indicated. But they do, after all, have the account number, and if this is not enough (although it seems that people have sent money from all four corners of the country, just indicating the city and the account number) then the address of the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, the only one of its kind in Leningrad, is well known to a city postal worker. What kind of heartless person would refuse to accept money even from old people giving away their last kopeks? "We will not accept it," they say: "Complain to whoever you like!"

[Chesnokov] Yes, everything is interwoven here—the beautiful and the bitter. Life writes its own scenario.

[Beglov] Exactly. But nevertheless, there is more generosity in the world. Much more. You know, there are even some actors who are willing to be filmed for nothing; and workers at the "Lenfilm" combined film workshop have agreed to give their services for free. And members of cooperatives, against whom we are often prejudiced-...have come up with several proposals—opening a network of catering facilities, for example, when shooting scenes involving large numbers on location, where they will provide food and other services free of charge.

[Chesnokov] Do you have any problems with finding people to take part in the large scenes?

[Beglov] Yes, because we have more than enough wanting to participate. We are going to have to turn many down. We mainly need people who really suffered the horrors of Stalin's camps. People like Academician Likhachev, for example, who has also agreed to take part in the film.

[Chesnokov] Cinematographers, workers, employees, members of cooperatives, an academician—everyone is excited by a subject which is both tragic and sacred at the same time. Hence this amazing unity. I can imagine how difficult it is for you now because, having appealed to people for their help, you have no right to betray their expectations, even in the small details.

[Beglov] The responsibility is indeed very great. And, believe me, I am aware of this. I would like to thank everyone who has helped us from the bottom of my heart.

[Chesnokov] You will be beginning work?

[Beglov] Yes, we will start shooting in September. Moreover, we have found ourselves with more funds than we expected (somewhere in the region of R60,000) and so we are thinking that we will not make a 40-minute test film as planned but possibly a full-length movie, which will form the first part of a two-part picture "Dossier on Myself." I hope that you will be able to see it on your screens in January next year.

Commission Probes Origin of Unmarked Graves

PM0609125188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Shimanskiy under the rubric "Glasnost Versus Rumors": "Whose Remains Lie in the Forest Near Minsk"]

[Text] Minsk—Today the name Kuropaty is often heard in Belorussia, and is becoming surrounded by diverse rumors. Many anonymous graves have been discovered here.

Kuropaty is a forest tract on the northern outskirts of Minsk. The "Zelenyy Lug" residential district has spread right up to it. Old-timers confirm that from 1937 to 1941 shots were heard every day and every night in the woods.

Recently, a gas line trench was laid and one of the graves was disturbed. Bones, 15 bullet-ridden human skulls, and the remains of 20 pairs of shoes were found in it. The supposition was voiced that during Stalin's time mass executions took place in the Kuropaty woods.

The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers set up a governmental commission which was instructed to find out whose remains lie in Kuropaty and what happened here at the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's. I met with G. Tarnavskiy, deputy chairman of the commission and Belorussian SSR prosecutor.

"We can well understand public concern in connection with the mass graves discovered in Kuropaty," he said. "Our commission has started work. It is headed by N. Mazay, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and includes representatives of the law enforcement, party, and soviet organs and the public. Hero of Socialist Labor and writer Vasil Bykov, USSR People's Artist Mikhail Savitskiy, and Hero of the Soviet Union Mariya Osipova are among them. Specialists began to work in the archives but many documents in connection with Belorussia's occupation during the war years were not kept.

"Excavations are also under way. Human remains and various objects have also been discovered: clothing, footwear, combs and eyeglasses.... All these are being handed over to the Institute of Forensic Examination for investigation. There are holes in some skulls which are similar to bullet holes. But the expert examination will answer this question precisely."

"Has it been established when these people were buried in Kuropaty?"

"It is still impossible to answer this precisely. According to witnesses' stories, this was at the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's. But the final conclusion can only be made after the investigation is completed. Expert examination will determine what happened in Kuropaty and when, who is buried here, and what age and sex these people were. The truth about the events in Kuropaty must be told.

But the difficulty of our investigation lies in the fact that during the last war the Nazis carried out mass executions of the peaceful population throughout Belorussian territory and killed POWs in concentration camps, including in the Minsk vicinity. Citizens from other occupied states were also brought here to be executed. For this reason hasty conclusions should not be made. Hasty conclusions not founded on trustworthy information only give rise to rumors and conjectures and rouse emotions. As soon as the commission has precise, verified data at its disposal, these will all be made available to the public.

The government commission continues its work.

Vorotnikov Addresses Amur Oblast Aktiv 22 Aug

PM0609153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at 22 August Amur Oblast aktiv meeting in Blagoveshchensk: "The Chief Thing Today Is a Working Mood and Practical Deeds"]

[Text] Blagoveshchensk, 22 Aug—V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, had a meeting here today with the party and economic aktiv of Amur Oblast.

V.I. Vorotnikov addressed the participants in the meeting. He said:

It is exactly 1 year since the party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted the long-term state program for the comprehensive development of production forces in the Far Eastern economic region and the Trans-Baykal region. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium recently heard a report on the Amur Oblispolkom's organizational work on strengthening the material and technical base of the social sphere, which is being carried out in accordance with the program targets.

An analysis of the work results over the year and also the meetings and frank talks that I have had yesterday and today with the oblast's working people and party and soviet workers enable me to draw the conclusion that definite changes for the better are taking place. And the chief, most important change is the people's businesslike, working mood and their certainty as to the need for and irreversibility of restructuring.

The 19th all-union party conference played an exceptional role in strengthening this confidence, of course. All who are living and working now have never known such a party forum—both in terms of the richness of its substance and in terms of the amazing openness, sharpness, and depth of the debate which developed. Literally the whole country and also the whole civilized world intently followed the course of that truly unprecedented event.

The conference enabled the party to find answers to the most burning questions about the paths of Soviet society's advance toward socialism in its Leninist concept and appearance. It is now a matter of vigorous actions to implement its guidelines.

Unfortunately, it had almost become our habit at all levels to put our trust in some kind of automatic functioning of decisions that had been adopted. And what should have been done in days and months dragged on for years. However, decisions in themselves and, still less, talk about them do not add up to policies. Today, after the conference and the Central Committee July plenum, we have a right to say: A truly businesslike approach to resolving urgent tasks of Soviet society's socioeconomic development is being asserted in the party and the country.

At the same time, we realize that not all our people are pleased with the course and pace of restructuring. Some have even started to panic. I believe that the natural contradiction of the time in which we are living is manifested here. On the one hand, we must not force restructuring and "skip" certain of its stages. On the other, we must increase its pace and more quickly resolve urgent socioeconomic tasks.

The way out of this contradiction is to actively involve each and everyone, literally everyone, in the restructuring processes. The conference posed the question like this: What have you done for restructuring? Revolutionary times demand just such an unequivocal formulation of the question in any sector of our work—from top to bottom.

It is natural, V.I. Vorotnikov emphasized, that the question of enhancing the party's role as the political vanguard of Soviet society was at the center of the conference's attention. The people believe in the party's collective reason and will, but this faith must without fail be backed up by a real improvement in people's living and working conditions. This is why the conference delegates spoke with particular force, frequently sharply and severely, of the fact that the Central Committee must concentrate, above all, on the most essential sectors of social policy. Today both the party as a whole and its every committee is constantly faced with reaffirming, as it were, its right to lead. Reaffirming it, above all, through daily concern for the people's good.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman went on to focus the attention of those present on urgent tasks of the accelerated development of the agro-industrial complex. In so doing he analyzed the present difficult situation in agriculture. The task of gathering and preserving the harvest, the speaker emphasized, has assumed exceptional acuteness and significance. A difficult situation is also taking shape as regards feed. This situation demands the utmost composure and mobilization.

The party sees the introduction of leasing and other efficient forms of organizing and encouraging labor as the quickest reliable path to food sufficiency, V.I. Vorotnikov said. Everyone seems to agree verbally with this. Some things are still being done in this direction only slowly. We come up against the tenacity of the old, primarily extensive approaches to developing the agro-industrial complex. This is partly understandable in human terms: For years a gamble was made on investments, subsidies, resources allocated from above, and so forth. However, it is an indisputable fact that capital investments in agriculture are growing, while the return on them remains insignificant. What is more, in some places it is even falling.

It is perfectly obvious that the root of the question today lies in changing economic relations in the countryside and in the independence, initiative, and responsibility of the producers. What, then, is preventing us from taking this wide road? Above all, I believe, entrenched habits, dogmas, and prejudices. Some people believe even today that the lease is a deviation from socialism which almost undermines social ownership.

It would be fine if it was only talk. The reality is that in a number of places one encounters manifestations of ill-will and even outright sabotage, where obstacles are put in the way of lease contract enthusiasts. Sometimes, moreover, this unenviable role is also performed by working people, the type, of course, who have gotten used to getting money they have not earned and are unaccustomed to hard work.

It is no exaggeration to say that truly revolutionary transformations are starting in the countryside. Therefore, leases and family contracts, like any new enterprise, as well as the brand-new managerial structures, need every support and encouragement. One must not adopt the posture of an onlooker, which is what some economic, party, and soviet workers are tending to do in these matters.

At the same time, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been and remain the very foundation of socialist agriculture and are called upon to achieve high results through a high degree of mechanization and specialization and the introduction of the latest technical achievements. And the new economic relations are the powerful lever which will make it possible to revive the peasant's sense of being in charge of the land.

The speaker then touched on vital questions connected with the social transformation of the countryside. Sociological research data indicate that more than half of all people leaving work in the countryside, and this includes Amur Oblast, do so because of dissatisfaction with the state of the social sphere. And, of course, it is no good at all having a situation where for a number of years many regions of the republic have failed to assimilate capital investments for the sociocultural development of the countryside.

Then the audience's attention was drawn to the need to speed up and improve the quality of housing construction. Some major, singular decisions were made recently to speed up the implementation of the housing program. Extra capital investments have been mobilized and labor collectives' resources are being actively exploited.

Practical measures are being implemented to increase the volume of cooperative and individual housing construction. Incidentally it has been announced by USSR banks [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian in its 23 August First Edition in a similiar article notes: "...by the USSR Savings Bank..."] that in the current year applications from individual builders will amount to approximately R1 billion.

As for Amur Oblast, the available potential for expanding the volumes of commissioned housing is far from being fully exploited. Thus, the share of individual construction in its overall volume [PRAVDA First Edition says: "As for Amur Oblast, in certain important sectors there have been hardly any noticeable advances. The share of individual construction in the overall commissioning of housing..."] hardly exceeds 1 percent and remains virtually at the level of the last 5-year plan. In the first 6 months of the current year they failed once again to fulfill the plan for the commissioning of housing in the countryside. And this is after the oblast soviet's apparently businesslike and keen discussion of the "Housing-2000" program at its April session. The session discussed it, but the situation has not changed. Yet there are more than 70,000 families in the oblast waiting for proper housing. They include nearly 5,000 large families. Nor must one forget the longest waiting lists in the region for places in kindergartens and creches, the high degree of shift work in schools, and the extreme neglect of one cultural institution in four.

The "Far East" long-term program is precisely geared to social priorities. But it will not work by itself. Incidentally, this is demonstrated by the evident drop in the rate of social construction. Departments are starting on the sly to use the plan as a "straightjacket," shifting everything to the right [PRAVDA First Edition omits: "...to the right..."]—to a later date, to subsequent years, thereby casting doubt [PRAVDA First Edition says: which is already casting doubt] on the practicability of a number of directive figures. We cannot accept [PRAVDA First Edition says: "We will never accept..."] this kind of ministerial stance.

The party also treats the question of filling the market with a variety of goods and services as an acute one [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...as an equally acute one"]. The situation remains bad. In terms of the most important parameters, the RSFSR has not provided the volumes envisaged by the comprehensive program. [Here First Edition adds the following sentence: "Sugar, tea, outerwear and underwear, knitted goods, footwear, and a number of other goods are in short supply."]

We are all well aware, V.I. Vorotnikov said, that a real breakthrough in the goods and services sphere is possible only on condition of the fundamental retooling of production. Major, radical decisions have been adopted on this score [PRAVDA First Edition adds: "...as you know"]. They include increasing the production of equipment for the light and food industry in other, highly developed industrial sectors, increasing equipment imports, and setting up joint enterprises with foreign firms.

Local soviets bear special responsibility for providing goods and services. We possess considerable experience of real initiative and enterprise in saturating the market with locally made goods. And yet freeloading sentiments still prevail in the majority of rayons. But much can and must be produced locally, particularly now that extensive opportunities have opened up for developing cooperative and individual labor activity. Where the necessary conditions are created for cooperative workers, the emergence of new goods and kinds of services is appreciable.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...V.I. Vorotnikov..."] went on to dwell in detail on some problems of implementing [PRAVDA First Edition omits: "implementing"] the economic reform. Half the republic's industrial enterprises, he said, have now been working for more than 6 months on the principles of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Definite positive experience has been accumulated, but there is [PRAVDA First Edition says: "Definite experience has been accumulated, including..."], it has to be admitted, also negative experience. I mean certain mistakes with the state order and normatives and with financial control over the activities of cooperatives. We have much to rectify here [PRAVDA First Edition adds: "...including deviations from our own decisions, which occurred at the first, transitional stage of implementing the reform"].

It is now an open secret that the slippage affecting the reform is largely a consequence of the search for new ways, but at the same time it is also a product of opposition on the part of conservative forces [PRAVDA First Edition says: "It is now an open secret that the reform is encountering opposition from conservative forces, including in the state apparatus and sometimes also the party apparatus"]. And I do not mean just certain notorious bureaucrats. The thing is that resistance frequently arises out of ordinary stereotypes of thinking and behavior, out of adherence to obsolete management methods [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...adherence to "strong-arm," edict management methods"]. Another serious obstacle in the way of the economic reform is leftist phraseology, when certain authors try to foist onto us what are essentially petit bourgeois concepts of socialism in a new [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...in a 'restructuring'..."] verbal wrapping.

Many complex, contradictory problems arise in the course of restructuring. Take, in particular, the "disappearance" of cheap goods in mass demand and the raising of the prices of many industrial products. In the country as a whole, including our republic, this process is accompanied by impressively high growth rates in cost volume indicators. All the indicators over the half-year appear favorable—even the plan for commodity turnover and services was fulfilled for the first time. But there is still an acute shortage of products, particularly good-quality ones, that people need. Hence the growth in wages, which in a number of cases exceeds the growth in labor productivity, as well as the enforced additional emission of banknotes not backed by goods.

Or take questions of saving resources. A tough policy has been adopted today: to learn to live within one's means. Here we will probably have to take very decisive measures to set a limit on unbridled extravagance. But this is what causes concern. In the process of introducing economic accountability we constantly [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...increasingly frequently..."] encounter such a phenomenon as the pursuit of instant effect. Sometimes people make amazingly shortsighted savings, without looking to the future. They "save," if it may be called such, even on new equipment.

V.I. Vorotnikov called the task of improving the financial health of the economy a most important question of the radical reform, which brooks no delay. We have to untie literally dozens of "knots" which are fettering the development of enterprises, sectors, and territories. We need to reduce above-normative stocks of material assets and take new approaches to planning from below. For the time being, many people are striving to increase the plan as little as possible so as to overfulfill it and earn more. Of course, such an approach cannot suit us. In this connection the speaker advocated the broad and speediest introduction of the second model of economic accountability.

Concluding his discussion of economic restructuring, V.I. Vorotnikov said: Of course, no significant advances will be made in implementing the reform until the financial and bank reform and also the pricing reform have been carried out and until wholesale trade in the means of production has been introduced. And all this has to be done without slackening the pace, by accelerating the steps of renewal.

The unprecedented complexity of the tasks facing us and the acute need for personal initiative, enterprise, resourcefulness, and competence dictate totally new approaches also to party political work, the speaker went on to declare. Today it is important to be among people all the time, systematically carry out explanatory work, persuade them, and raise them to great deeds. Of course, Communists and party committees must be the instigators of this work.

Restructuring opens up truly unlimited opportunities for lively, interesting, ebullient party work, V.I. Vorotnikov said. The CPSU has already entered the active stage of restructuring its ranks, its apparatus, and its style and methods of work among the masses. Many questions arise as we go along. Just look, for example, at how many Communists there are in cooperatives. Literally just a few. The same thing in lease collectives. And yet we speak of putting Communists in the forefront of the renewal of life.

The cadre policy of party committees assumes exceptional significance in this connection. Developing the ideas of the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, the 19th party conference designated new approaches in work with cadres. It is of fundamental importance that henceforth it will be carried out together with and in connection with the reform of the political system and the restructuring of the party itself and of the soviets.

I should say a few words about the attitude toward criticism, V.I. Vorotnikov remarked. Our determination to combat ostentation and bragging and to assert unity of word and action is irreversible. At the same time, at the party conference many rebukes were addressed to a number of criticisms in the press and on television and radio. Is there not some contradiction here? I think not. Mention was not made of persecution for criticism but of the need to enhance the responsibility of the mass media for the ideological and political substance of materials published and of doing away with unnecessary sensationalism. It was also said that today it is important to shift the emphasis increasingly from the past to the present, concentrating efforts on the in-depth constructive analysis of reality and its objective comparison with the ideals of the revolutionary renewal of society.

In conclusion some questions of the upcoming reconstruction of the soviets as the chief link in our political system were touched upon. The chief point here, V.I. Vorotnikov emphasized, is that for the first time in many years we are embarking in earnest [PRAVDA First Edition begins this sentence with: "We are embarking for the first time, V.I. Vorotnikov emphasized..."] on the practical creation of the economic basis of local self-management. It is a question, you know, of new approaches to shaping the local budget, right down to the gradual transition to economic accountability for the territories themselves—up to oblast, kray, and autonomous republic inclusive.

Does this means that the soviets will soon find their work easier? Of course not. It will be a question of a totally different level and scale of their responsibility for the comprehensive socioeconomic development of the territories in their jurisdiction. And, I will emphasize, under conditions of the strictest observance of Soviet laws and the democratic principles of social life.

Soviet society has emerged into a new, most crucial stage of restructuring. A vast amount of work awaits us and brooks no delay. And we must resolve all the tasks facing us in a thorough, statesmanlike way [PRAVDA First Edition says: "...in a thorough, statesmanlike, bolshevist way. Not flap, not get bogged down in trifles, and not panic on encountering difficulties"]. The chief thing is practical deeds in every sector of restructuring. Businesslike efficiency and again businesslike efficiency, exactingness and responsibility—this is what is needed today.

Next to speak were V.Ya. Bikbulatov, first secretary of Oktyabrskiy CPSU Raykom; V.A. Gorbunov, chief of the Baykal-Amur Railroad; A.N. Tolstov, team leader at the "Amurskiy Metallist" Plant; V.F. Zarubov, general director of the "Dalvostugol" Production Association; Yu.G. Lyashko, chairman of Blagoveshchensk Gorispolkom; G.V. Chepurnoy, construction workers team leader at the Bureya GES; M.T. Lutsenko [PRAVDA First Edition says: "Academician M.T. Lutsenko"], director of the Scientific Research Institute of Breathing Physiology and Pathology; V.A. Mogilnik, chairman of Mikhaylovskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association; A.S. Lagutin, chief of the Main Administration for Construction in Amur Oblast; and L.V. Sharin, first secretary of Amur party obkom.

Activities Reported

PM0509141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Stay in Amur Oblast"]

[Text] V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, was in Amur Oblast 21-23 August. In the course of his meetings with working people, the party aktiv, and oblast leaders, urgent tasks of restructuring and ways of providing the population most rapidly with foodstuffs and consumer goods and of resolving the housing problem were discussed. A great deal of attention was devoted to the improvement of the economic mechanism, the transition of all enterprises to self-financing, and the introduction of the family and lease contracts.

V.I. Vorotnikov visited Ivanovskiy Rayon's "Rodina" Kolkhoz, where he was familiarized with the work experience of lease links rearing brood stock for livestock farming and cultivating root crops. He recommended that this experience be disseminated more widely in the oblast's agro-industrial complex system.

At the rayon center—the village of Ivanovka—the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers looked around a leisure area and the facilities in the culture and sports complex built by the public. A conversation took place at the Ivanovka village soviet.

He toured with interest new apartment blocks, a school, a kindergarten, and Kreshchenovka village's House of Culture, where a section of the "Luch" Kolkhoz is located. Recently this village was deemed "unpromising" and fell into decline. After initiating construction of sociocultural facilities, the kolkhoz leaders managed within 2 years to bring people back and considerably increase the return from the land.

At the All-Russian Soya Research Institute's Experimental Production Farm, V.I. Vorotnikov visited experimental plots and acquainted himself with scientists' latest research and looked around a machinery system created at the institute for cultivating valuable protein-rich crops. Specialists made serious complaints regarding agricultural machine building workers, who have for a long time been unable to master series production of these mechanisms that are extremely necessary for soybean farmers.

At Blagoveshchensk V.I. Vorotnikov laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin Monument in the city's main square. At the Blagoveshchensk October Revolution Shipbuilding Plant he was familiarized with progress in modernizing enterprises and assimilating new output, the manufacture of consumer goods, and the satisfaction of workers' social requirements.

He also looked round a new residential district of Blagoveshchensk and sociocultural facilities under construction. V.I. Vorotnikov visited a dairy combine, a furniture factory, trade enterprises, and the city market. He inquired about the range and quality of goods and the standard of customer services.

In Tynda V.I. Vorotnikov talked with local party and soviet leaders at the CPSU Gorkom and discussed with them the problems of the social development of the city and rayon and the improvement of Baykal-Amur Railroad workers' living conditions. The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers inquired about the provision of trade services for railroad builders and operators and their vegetable and milk supplies and visited, among other places, the "Mostostroy-10" Trust Hothouse Combine.

V.I. Vorotnikov was accompanied by L.V. Sharin, first secretary of the Amur CPSU Obkom, and I.F. Mavrin, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Vorotnikov Views Far East Economic Tasks
PM0609092588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Winning Every Reform Position"]

[Text] Chita, 25 Aug—V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, completing his 23-25 August tour of the oblast, visited a number of major industrial enterprises, livestock units, cultural establishments, trade and consumer services collectives, and a number of villages in the Transbaykal area. In Chita he visited the worsted cloth combine, the Transbaykal Sheep Farming and Meat Production Technological Research Institute and its experimental livestock units, and the "Chernovskiy" vegetable-growing sovkhoz.

Acquaintance with the work of primary grain and milk-producing cooperatives at Karymskiy Rayon's V.I. Lenin Cooperative Livestock Unit aroused V.I. Vorotnikov's great interest. He inquired as to the progress in developing the cooperative system in the oblast and mutual relations between cooperatives and the Agrobank and the agro-industrial committee. It was pointed out that the new form of labor organization is helping to shape in people a sense of being master on the land and is fostering in them a sense of responsibility for restructuring.

During his stay in Aginskiy Buryatskiy Autonomous District, V.I. Vorotnikov showed particular interest in questions of ethnic relations and working people's international education. The conversation also turned to the problems of preserving Buryat national architectural monuments. The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers briefed them on what measures the republic's government has adopted to aid the Transbaykal victims of natural disasters.

At Mogoytuyskiy Rayon's Kirov Kolkhoz, V.I. Vorotnikov was acquainted with the progress of the grain harvest, the introduction of the lease contract, the kathon method of sheep farming, and shepherds' domestic living conditions. During numerous meetings with the inhabitants of Chita and Transbaykal villages and settlements and with the leaders of the oblast party and soviet organs, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers inquired into the progress of restructuring, the activity of collectives working on the principles of self-recoupment and self-financing, and the rates of construction of production and socioconsumer facilities. He drew the attention of oblast leaders to the inefficient use of equipment and the low rates of introducing progressive forms of labor organization and pointed out serious omissions in the population's food and consumer goods supply.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was accompanied in his tour of the oblast by N.I. Malkov, first secretary of Chita CPSU Obkom, and K.K. Shabarshin, chairman of the oblispolkom.

A meeting was held at the CPSU obkom today between V.I. Vorotnikov and the party-economic aktiv. Speaking to the meeting participants he said, inter alia:

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is a point of departure, a new reference point in all our affairs today. The implementation of its ideas and directives is the main task and the main aim for all the efforts of party organizations, soviet and economic organs, and labor collectives.

A great deal has already been said on the unusual atmosphere at the conference and the frank, keen debates that unfolded there, which were followed attentively by the entire world, and the innovative spirit of the decisions adopted at the conference. It clearly highlighted the new moral-political situation within the country, but also the complex problems that are cropping up in the course of restructuring. The main point is that the conference justified the hopes of Soviet people and increased their faith in the success of our plans and in the success of the strategy of revolutionary change.

The conference heralded the start of a sharp turn on the political front of restructuring. The essence of this turn lies in the masses' real, extensive involvement in the affairs of the state and in managing those affairs. The reform of the political system that has already begun is eliminating unnecessary parallelism and duplication in the activity of the party and the soviets and is deepening the process of society's democratization. Understandably, V.I. Vorotnikov noted, it is not easy to prepare and implement this kind of turn. It will take a great deal of time and effort. But the importance of our goal and the results that we will attain are certainly worth it.

Although political reform was the main item on the conference agenda, the speaker went on, economic problems were also discussed in a very acute, exacting, and detailed fashion. The national economy has gotten moving and—if I can say this—pulled itself off the rocks. The great ship of the economy has set sail in the right direction and is gradually picking up speed. Nevertheless things onboard are still far from the way I would like them.

Most marked changes are under way in the sphere of organization and management. Rates of developing cooperation are being accelerated. Progressive forms of labor incentive and remuneration are becoming increasingly widespread. In the first 6 months of this year the country's national income rose 4.8 percent, moreover it did so through material production and increased labor productivity, that is, on a healthy basis. We were able to boost growth rates for the production of output that directly meets the population's needs. This is particularly important if you consider that our currency receipts and, thus, the amount of currency available for commodity imports dropped sharply with the change in the world market situation.

However, all this is still having a very small effect on the national economy and on people's living standard. The Central Committee assesses the current situation extremely critically, V.I. Vorotnikov said. The results of the economic activity of Chita Oblast's party, soviet, and economic organs were assessed strictly and objectively from this stance. The oblast, which is very rich in stocks of natural raw materials, is still lagging substantially behind the mean republic level. The reasons for this situation are rooted in the past. The oblast's lag built up over the years and decades and the oblast did not develop comprehensively. The chronic problem is the shortage and heightened turnover of the work force.

The long-term state program is to be the lever used to ensure a stable rise in the economy and culture of the entire Far Eastern region and of Chita Oblast. This program is based on a correct concept. The key to the program and its priority area is the development of the social sphere. This fully accords with the directives of the 19th party conference.

Work on the program is only just unfolding. It is very important from the first steps not to permit a return to pressure methods of leadership. A drastic breakthrough in work style and methods is needed. That is what the Central Committee is calling for and demanding today.

Analysis shows and acquaintance with the state of affairs at local level confirms the conclusion that serious omission have already been tolerated in implementing the long-term program in the oblast. The usual stereotypes are increasingly operating, poor use is being made of economic levers, and the retooling of production is slow to be effected. This results in nervousness, unjustifiable haste, and impatience brought about by the inability to set things on a new footing. And this in turn leads to numerous requests for aid and additional resources. As a rule these appeals run contrary to the plans that have been ratified and only disorganize the work.

Then V.I. Vorotnikov dwelt on certain questions of accelerating scientific and technical progress. In this connection he mentioned the importance of introducing scientific and technical achievements most rapidly and boosting the efficiency of the tremendous scientific and technical potential. This potential is certainly not being carefully used everywhere. Many research institutes and design bureaus, especially at sector level, have in many respects lost the sense of professional pride and the patriotic tradition of selfless devotion in science. Party committees and soviets will have to work thoroughly to ensure that the situation is mastered and scientific and technical thought revived.

V.I. Vorotnikov described major shortcomings in the capital construction sphere as being among the reasons impeding the acceleration of the Transbaykal economy's development. This firstly concerns the dissipation of capital investments among numerous projects. The plan targets for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan for the introduction of fixed capital, for the assimilation of capital investments, and for construction installation work have not been fulfilled.

Nonetheless, there are positive processes under way in the construction complex. This is very important, notably from the psychological viewpoint. Because it must be admitted many people have already lost hope of ever seeing construction workers as the frontrunners of restructuring. Now it is important not to reduce demands and not to give any respite to those people in the construction organizations, right up to the ministries, who are slowing down things and who do not realize the exceptional importance of the accelerated development of the Far Eastern and Transbaykal economy.

Then the attention of the meeting's participants was drawn to the fundamental question of the party's contemporary socioeconomic policy—increasing the production of food products. Specific problems in Chita Oblast's agro-industrial complex were examined from this angle. The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers drew attention, in particular, to the shortcomings and the unused reserves in sheep farming. Chita Oblast has the third-largest herd in the RSFSR. At one time the fine-wool sheep farming here was renowned throughout Siberia and beyond. However, in the last 10 years the sheep herd and wool production have fallen by 20 percent and almost 25 percent respectively. Mutton production has also fallen. Not surprisingly, the central organs were forced to help the oblast with funds for foodstuffs.

Of course, weather conditions in the Transbaykal are often unkind to arable farmers. Practically every year financial and material resources have to be allocated from union and republic reserves to eliminate the aftereffects of natural disasters. Torrential rains and tornadoes have now made the situation in the countryside extremely complex. To be blunt, we have many difficulties on the whole throughout the republic. That is why it is exceptionally important to gather in and store the harvest in a timely fashion and add to the state reserves the maximum quantity of food grain. The situation requires of all of us the utmost exertion and selflessness at work. The prevailing situation must be explained honestly and openly to people and they must be given a chance to act without constraint and using their initiative. I am sure that we will not have to wait long for results.

The key to success lies in introducing progressive forms of labor organization. Yet the contract, particularly the lease contract, is slow to be introduced in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There is a great deal of discussion, but as yet the changes are hardly appreciable. The peasant has still not become the real master on the land. This is the root of the question, and we must not stint on effort or time to resolve it.

Constant concern for the social infrastructure in the countryside is also exceptionally important. It is comforting that the volumes of housing construction have risen recently in the countryside and more sociocultural amenities have begun to be constructed. But by no means full use is being made of capacities here either. We must try, come what may, to ensure that in the next few years people sense real changes for the better here. The task today is as follows: to restore to the countryside, so to speak, its historic duty and qualitatively change its social makeup within a very short period.

While talking about the problems of economic reform, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed that the situation will not change radically if there is no resolute, vigorous, or general transfer to new methods of economic activity. There is no other path for us other than to conquer every new frontier of reform persistently, step by step, by consistently implementing the Law on the State Enterprise, the Law on the Cooperative System, and other legislative acts opening up broad scope for economic activity.

The current practice of introducing economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations is increasingly giving rise to many questions. Production is rising but there is a shortage of the requisite output. Enterprises' profits are increasing but they are being distributed in such way that the effect of the increase is insignificant. The transfer to self-financing has caused some economic leaders to take such a miserly attitude to expenditure on enterprises' requirements that they sometimes even begin to economize on new equipment.

However, the speaker said, we did not expect everything to go without a hitch. We still have to develop the requisite experience, give economically accountable ties an adequate theoretical and practical base, and improve their legal backup. But we must not think that someone will resolve these problems for us. It is not only economists and economic leaders but also party and soviet workers who must profoundly analyze and enrich the practice of reform and draw the relevant conclusions.

To conclude the discussion of economic reform, V.I. Vorotnikov once again in essence returned to the problem of developing lease relations. It is extremely important under the lease contract, he stressed, for the worker's alienation from state or cooperative property to be overcome and a direct connection between wages and end results of labor ensured. There is no room here for command, pressure, and menacing growls: Relations of directive subordination become contractual, partnership relations. It is no coincidence that the advantages of the lease contract have been, as they say, "spotted" not only in the countryside. The first enterprises leased by collectives have also appeared in the republic. Major associations are also getting in on the act. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the lease contract method is promising at any type of enterprise.

Then V.I. Vorotnikov said:

We must not lose sight for an instant of the diverse problems associated with restructuring's ideological backup. The first in order of importance lies in stepping

up educative work among young people. The changes in economic and political life, the broadening of democratism and glasnost, and the radical revision of many permanent values have brought about a certain degree of disorientation in some young people. In some areas outbreaks of antisocial behavior have been recorded. Some youth leaders have decided that it is only a matter of developing the leisure sphere and are rushing to open new discos and turn the rock music up, so to speak. Yet it is clear that young people must not only be entertained but also enticed—by a real, sensible cause, patriotic initiatives, and positive example. Very great responsibility here lies with party organizations, soviet organs, and the teaching profession. And, of course, with the Komsomol. Cultural work must, of course, also be improved.

Today we are entitled to draw the conclusion, V.I. Vorotnikov then said, that the oblast's Communists have begun to assess the results of their work more objectively and more soberly and have a more intransigent attitude to shortcomings in the economy and the social sphere. Steps have been taken to strengthen discipline and boost the responsibility of leading cadres. The health of the party organization will continue to be determined by how boldly and fearlessly it assesses the results of its work, how critically it regards it, and how firm are the ties between Communists and the masses.

In conclusion, the speaker once again turned to the decisions of the 19th party conference on the reorganization of the political system in our society. The framework for the upcoming work has been determined by the Central Committee July Plenum. The appropriate legislative acts are being elaborated and changes are being prepared to the USSR Constitution. However, this does not mean that we can sit down and wait until everything is ready. We must now, today, set about restructuring the political system and delimiting the functions of party and soviet organs. It is necessary to develop this work, to abandon direct interference in production matters and hand them over to soviet and economic organs. Considering how deeply party organizations have become involved in economic activity, it will not be easy to effect this turn. But it is particularly necessary not to put it off until tomorrow.

Yakovlev Discusses Changes With Latvian Farmers

PM0509152188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 11 Aug 88 pp 1-3

[LATINFORM report: "A Fundamental Question of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] It has already been reported that A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the "Marupe" Agro-firm in Rizhskiy Rayon 9 August. His acquaintance with its collective and the state of affairs on the farm began with a tour of the hothouse combine. [passage omitted]

A conversation about the countryside's contemporary problems and other topical questions of the republic's socioeconomic and political life continued in the premises of the agro-firm's board. A meeting took place there between A.N. Yakovlev and farm workers, leaders of rayon agro-industrial associations, and party raykom secretaries from several of Latvia's regions.

B.K. Pugo opened the meeting. [passage omitted]

The exchange of opinions was continued by A.E. Kauls, chairman of the "Adazhi" Agro-firm:

"While respecting the policy of restructuring, I see it as my duty to say that the observance of union republic rights contained in the Constitution is not guaranteed. Consequently, we are not masters of our own republic and our own land. The party proclaims agriculture as a priority, and yet the republic cannot make any specific decisions. As a result, we are undermining the party's authority, we are undermining the prestige of restructuring simply because for 3 years now we have been talking, for 3 years now we have been agitating, and yet we have made no specific and realistic decisions yielding tangible results. It is necessary for party organs to exert influence on the administrative-economic apparatus in order to secure restructuring and in order to ensure that agriculture has priority. This idea was supported by the working class at the party conference. I think that this represents major support. I also assume that there is no need to wait for the new 5-year plan, that the national economic plans of republics and of union ministries and departments ought to be reviewed right now. Only thus will we be able to solve the most pressing questions in agriculture. [passage omitted]

"Of course you know that questions concerning national factors are being raised in our republic. A struggle is being waged. And we realize that only unity can secure restructuring. Only the unity of our peoples can secure its success, our republic's development, and people's prosperity. It is nevertheless evident that we, as well as all peoples, have just one dream: to gain economic independence. On this basis we will be able to solve the painful socioeconomic questions. We would like to see the advocates of restructuring being more consistent in their actions. This clearly applies also to the Central Committee and the Politburo. We sensed that even at the party conference we were indecisive in our actions. We are not crushing the opponents of restructuring, and are making partial decisions. Consequently, our policy lacks confidence and this reflects on the way it is perceived by the population and within the party. Various informal organizations are emerging, a democratic front, to enable the people to influence restructuring. I believe that we must make a final assessment of all opponents of restructuring, and ultimately we must say what sort of person Stalin was and what was the meaning of Stalinism and the Brezhneviad. If we are talking about criminals then we must clearly say so; the party must get rid of them because honest people who wish to attain the goals of the

building of socialism and communism cannot remain in the same party with them. This is the demand of the kolkhoz members whom I represent.

"In conclusion, I would like to confidently say that Soviet Latvia's kolkhoz members fully support the policy pursued by Boris Karlovich Pugo, they support the entire restructuring launched by the Politburo and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev."

A.N. Yakovlev: You know that work is being done along the avenues mapped out by the party conference resolutions. It is of course necessary to do some work on the status of republics so that they can resolve all questions affecting them. This will also affect local power in general in many respects. We will probably give some thought to some sort of law on so-called municipal property, in line with world practice. We must indeed change the actual mentality and approach, Comrade Kauls. Today we are talking about central ministries, we are at times correct in talking about their incompetence, but they also have their own conditions in which to operate. They also have their own tasks assigned to them. They are also players in the game which they have to play, as it were. They are also looking after their own interests. This is the power that has to be decentralized to ensure that everyone is responsible for his work not in words but in deeds—be he a gorispolkom or oblispolkom chairman or chairman of the Council of Ministers. But what happens? Look at a republic. It has its Council of Ministers chairman, it has its Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and there they are, unable to make a decision on some issue. Matters must be organized so that they are obliged to make the decision, so that there is no question of lacking certain rights.

Please realize this: Nothing can be achieved at a stroke. Back in 1985 we did not know in what state we were. We did not know the state of our finances, of our economy. It is only step by step that we are beginning to realize that we have a lot more work to do in order to correct the unpleasant accretions.

So now we are raising the question of giving overall priority to Group B industry. Group A has become sort of autonomous within the state, serving itself. Tonnes of cast iron go to serve tonnes of cast iron and reproduce tonnes of cast iron. We produce almost three times as much cast iron as the United States. It is enough for the United States, but we have shortages. Why? Simply because we have this technocratic line of self-reproduction. Regardless of society's needs. And we still have shortages.

Right here, today, I heard that there are not enough pipes. More steel is being produced, but there are still no pipes. There is a general shortage. I am not talking about de-industrialization or anything else along these lines. It all boils down to creating a new industrial base for Group B. I personally think that it was an economic mistake to place so much emphasis on the so-called Group A in the past. It is said that it was necessary for the country because industry was in such a state. The outcome is that we are now experiencing financial difficulties. Group B has failed to produce commodities in bulk. We invested huge amounts of money for years on end in the production of Group A output. Justifications were forthcoming. But we as consumers buy no steel, except in the shape of pots and pans. For some reason, the wife at home does not ask for cast iron. And here is the result: The money was spent but the goods are still not available. It is not just a matter of indecision, of certain rash measures, as it was said here. There are reasons of a different magnitude. Here I was today, trying to find out whether people have any desire for individual construction. Everyone told me: Yes, they do. But there are no construction materials, there is no transportation. You see what happens. And yet this desire did not materialize out of the blue. It means that there is money for this purpose. Indeed, there are billions lying in savings accounts around the country. This is what happens at times: If there is no money to fund the wages it is drawn out of the savings account. But this is self-deception, comrades. What is the point in withdrawing 5 billion from the savings account and paying the money out as wages? There is still no equivalent commodity availability. Here we are, circulating this money and aggravating the financial difficulties. This is nothing but economic self-deception. The guarantee of success lies in orientation primarily toward the consumer, toward man.

Now about indecision. First, the party was decisive enough as regards the actual restructuring. This is the key area of decisiveness. This really required great boldness. At times you feel simply amazed that such a revolutionary step could have been taken after phenomena like the stagnation and the ensuing corruption and so on. If you were to ask me whether in 1985, on the eve of the plenum, I could have imagined that today, in 1988, we would have reached our present stage—I would not have even dreamed of it. But on the other hand, if you were to ask me whether such difficulties were anticipated, I would answer that I had imagined the picture in much brighter hues than it proved in reality. I thought that everything would go much more smoothly. Carried away by enthusiasm, as it were. The information at our disposal was limited. We proceeded more on the basis of ideals, of general impressions. We had fallen victim to the propaganda which had been conducted until then: Apparently we had no particular problems, everything in our country was resolved, everything was organized, everything was in order. But we realized that by no means was everything in order. And that things were actually in a bad state. But only now are we beginning to realize in how bad a state. I mean in particular the financial situation, the economy.

A simplistic opinion prevailed: The more capital investment is provided, the better things will be. This did not prove to be the case. And now we all are discovering: Machines are useless without man and his labor, and

motivated labor at that. I was shocked by a NOVYY MIR article a couple of years ago about one of Perm Oblast's kolkhozes. Back in the past, before the war, they had a total of 2 tractors and yields of 16 [quintals per hectare]. Now, if I remember rightly, they have 18 tractors and a yield of 8 [quintals]. This is why we are facing the problem of building up man, of building up the countryside, of concern for the social sphere. Society now has an inefficient infrastructure and a neglected social sphere.

Here you are, Comrade Kauls, saying: More decisively. Correct. But no matter how decisive we all are, we will not boost the social sphere overnight. You are also correct in saying that everything is gained by fighting.

Take for example the question of market orchard and garden plots. Did everyone agree without dissension? Nothing of the sort. It was possible to build on these plots, but not higher than so much, not broader than so much, not deeper than so many meters, and forget all about basements. And God forbid that someone should install a bathroom—that was altogether a crime. Even the gables had to be at a specified angle. There was no way they could be erected differently. All this had to be done away with. All restrictions have been lifted altogether now. And nobody is saying that a particular gable is less socialist than another. We have too many self-styled interpreters of socialism. Some people interpret socialism to their personal advantage. Anything that diverges from their personal interests is no longer socialism, and they start threatening us with capitalism, revisionism, opportunism, and other similiar goblins.

We must be bolder in pushing all this aside. Now we have raised the question of leasing relationships. You were correct in saying, and I agree with you, that we are not talking about recollectivization. We are talking about something else—about different forms of socialist ownership, about the lifting of restrictions. Scope must be given to every form—kolkhoz, sovkhoz, agro-firm, family contract—and work must be voluntary, without force, on the basis of common sense. After all, restructuring is movement in the direction of common sense. [passage omitted]

Addresses Latvian Intelligentsia

PM0609095188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Aug 88 pp 1-2

[LATINFORM report: "For Realistic Thinking and Responsible Actions. A.N. Yakovlev's Meeting With Representatives of the Creative Intelligentsia" in Riga 9 August 1988; according to a footnote, "The published account is an abbreviated transcript"]

[Excerpts] It is impossible to continue living in the old style, only movement along the main avenues of restructuring and practical work can solve the existing problems—this idea expressed the clear-cut stance taken by participants in the meeting held in the Theater Museum 9 August.

Opening the meeting, B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, noted that quite a few meetings and rallies have already been held in the republic to discuss the most important questions perturbing its population, and much has already been said. But a serious conversation is about to take place at the present unofficial meeting. He called for the meeting to be conducted in a frank and businesslike fashion. [passage omitted]

The meeting was then addressed by A.N. Yakovlev [member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee].

The word restructuring has become part of life, concentrating certain principles and certain approaches, he said. Of course, many people give it their own interpretation. But everyone agrees that restructuring is a rejection of past ways of life, an attempt and a desire to give a new meaning to our life, as well as, of course, taking practical steps.

It was suggested here to create yet another institute, but this time with new ideas and new people. By way of an answer, let me ask you this: Where are these new ideas, where are these new people? If they are really new, they should have appeared a long time ago. Both ideas and people. Somehow I cannot imagine anyone keeping new ideas under wraps, safeguarding them, and not sharing them with others. Everyone is speaking out now, they are all talking and they all believe they are putting new ideas forward. This is probably true in many cases. But we must work with people who are with us here and now. Why should I say that people present here are people of the past. I think that this would be unfair. All people here, or at least the majority, are capable of adopting the new ideas, expressing the new ideas, and working in the new fashion.

My personal stance is this: I have to work even with people with whom I categorically disagree, both politically and in terms of world outlook. And this is the essence of restructuring. There is one thing we all must overcome—any sort of prejudice. We must seriously weigh everything up on the basis of scientific analysis, and only then to draw joint conclusions—and very accurate ones, at that.

Speaking about another substantial aspect of restructuring, I would say that it boils down to the problem of morality. Restructuring is also a moral phenomenon. Has it become such? Broadly speaking, in matters of principle—yes, it has. Has this moral revolution become a part of each and every one of us? Not yet. And this is probably the cause of various flare-ups, excesses, conservatism, commitment to the old way, attempts to rush forward, and all the struggle and turbulence of passions we have recently observed. And unless a widespread and far-reaching moral revolution occurs in our country, we will achieve no restructuring because a genuinely new society must be a moral society.

I hold toleration to be a most important moral indicator. We must at long last become tolerant of each other's views. Over a period of many years we have built up rather too great a charge of intolerance toward other people's opinions and manner of thinking. The rejection of things we dislike engendered the intolerance represented by dictated taste [vkusovshchina], which caused great damage, especially in literature and art.

The last thing I want to do is call for indiscrimination, for universal fraternization, for embracing everything under the sun. This would be the other extreme. Being tolerant of others is a most important quality. But every now and again we catch ourselves being intolerant and censorious, and every now and again this weight drags us downward.

This is where the question of toleration enters the sphere of ethnic relations. I get mad when I sense that some tiny bells somewhere are censoriously ringing against another ethnic group. I cannot understand this.

I can understand it when someone raises the problem of migration and examines it from the social and economic viewpoints; order needs to be introduced here. Order must also be introduced into the level of the republic's industrialization and urbanization.

But, begging your pardon, there is something I do not quite understand, when someone raises the question of who should be considered a citizen—someone who has lived here since 1940 or someone who settled here 5 years ago, and should the latter be given the right to vote in elections.

Suppose, for example, that Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin moves here, and you take it upon yourselves—just hypothetically speaking, of course—to deprive him of the right to vote. Would this be democratic? Indeed, you would probably have the whole of Latvia voting to give him this right. Am I right?

Rejoinder by A. Bels: If he were to apply for it.

No, comrades. There is a very thin dividing line between the point where the national element must be supported and developed by all means, and its possible degeneration into something else, into some sort of selectiveness, exclusiveness, or isolationism. This delicate point is also, among other things, a moral issue. It would not confuse us, it would not blind us, it would not humiliate us. I always think to myself that at the moment when I start imagining that, as a Russian, I am entitled to claim even the slightest superiority, I would cease considering myself a human being because that is the point where humanity ends. This is why I personally detest all manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism. This is a terrible phenomenon in any guise, in any form. We know what it leads to: bloodshed.

Let us not exaggerate our cultural level and raise ourselves on pedestals. The stage of glasnost and democratization has begun. It appears that not just a part of the population but all of us are largely unprepared for it. Because there is insufficient political culture, there is insufficient moral culture, there is insufficient toleration, there is insufficient realism. Yes, suddenly everything is surging, everything is breaking out, everything is seething, everyone is dazzled—wonderful! But we still lack sufficient strength and sufficient wisdom to realistically appraise all this. We all have to learn now. Even in the Politburo.

If back in 1985 someone had told me that in 1988 we would be conversing in this fashion and would be very honestly telling each other everything that is on our minds, I would not have believed it. But this has happened. And we must value this, comrades, we must not let it slip as a result of some unconsidered steps, of some haste, some lack of restraint, or of some hesitation in our advance. Both options are extremely dangerous.

We are talking about resistance to restructuring. This is probably the confluence of two waves. On the one hand, consolidation against the background of the defeats of a conservatism which is unwilling to surrender its positions in various spheres—the theoretical, ideological, practical, and political, including the national, sphere. On the other hand, impatience—hurry up, we certainly must leap over something.

But, dear comrades, the weights to be lifted in each category are only those that the athlete can cope with. In the same way, today we can lift only as much as we can cope with. It is necessary to proceed on the basis of the real potential. We must be utmost realists. Yes, we are living in a romantic time, yes, we are breathing a new, a different air. But it is this romantic time that demands extreme—I would say intense—realism. It is necessary to evaluate each one of our steps: The work involved is too important.

All the time we are facing the question: Consolidation or confrontation, confrontation or consolidation? Which is better? In reply to this elementary question we all would say that consolidation is of course better. But what sort of consolidation? On what basis? For whose sake? In whose name?

Clashes between groups and groupings are not particularly worrying unless they spill over into our world-outlook philosophy and therefore the political sphere, and thus into attitudes toward restructuring and the processes under way in our country. What is worrying is another type of incipient—I would even say—not confrontation but confrontationism which I have noticed in your republic, and not only here. I mean the setting of the intelligentsia and mass media in opposition to the party apparatus.

I am also against the bureaucracy, I am also in favor of reducing the party and state apparatus. I am also in favor of all power being in the hands of the soviets, in favor of restructuring the political system. But I believe that we would be oversimplifying the task if we were to start seeking the causes of all misfortunes inside the party apparatus. After all, the apparatus is also a product of social relations. But this is not a matter of words. Yanis Yanisovich Peters [chairman of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union Board] is also a functionary. He also has his own "ministry." And what about Girt Aleksandrovich Yakovlev [not further identified]? Is he not a minister to all intents and purposes? But do we hold them to be opponents of restructuring? No.

It is not so much a matter of changing specific individuals, it is a matter of changing social relations. If social relations were different, the apparatus and its functions would also be different. But if we all were to go all out and blame all misfortunes on the party apparatus, the central committee, or the raykoms, we would be avoiding the real problem. And we would run the risk of retaining the same old social relations which, in their turn, would give birth to the same old apparatus.

It is necessary to look a little deeper. People give birth to people, sheep give birth to sheep. And this is hardly likely to change in the next million years. It is necessary to develop social relations that would give birth to the corresponding and appropriate superstructure. This is why the political and economic reforms were conceived. This is why, back in 1985, in totally different social conditions from those of today, we openly and honestly offered our hand to the intelligentsia—let's work together. This is not a flirtation at all. Restructuring is impossible without the intelligentsia. Suspicious attitudes toward the intelligentsia are immoral and unethical. This is my profoundly held belief.

At the same time, however, the intelligentsia as the intellectual force of the party and the country must enhance its own responsibility. Let us give this some thought. Any division, any reciprocal accusations, all the fuss about who is more senior, who is superior, who is cleverer, who is more stupid, who is perspicacious, who is shortsighted—all these are a waste of time. Now more than ever before we need to move forward together. That is when many of our problems which today seem so great and so important will either be solved by restructuring or will prove to be not so important and not so major. Our other tasks will be resolved not by applying the brakes to restructuring but only as a result of progress along the path of restructuring, along all its main avenues.

Is the question of republics' rights important? We are working on it in conformity with the conference resolutions. It is necessary to work on the status of sovereignty, the status of autonomy, and the status of national education. A party Central Committee plenum will be held on this issue. It is impossible to carry on working in the old fashion. In my view we are fully agreed on this.

Restructuring cannot exclude the restructuring of ethnic relations. In this context it is very important not to give conservative forces an excuse to say: "Look at the nationalists, they are getting out of hand." This question must be resolved on a sensible basis. It must be resolved correctly, consistently, and in full. Lenin wrote that a state in the form of a union must have a common defense and foreign policy. All the rest, he held, ought to be the prerogative of the republics.

I cannot see why every republic should join the United Nations, as some people suggest. Nobody will accept this, because the UN Charter grants the USSR three places. This would mean revising the Charter. And this is a very complex matter, these are international problems. What is feasible, however, is travel by journalists, inclusion in delegations, recruitment to the diplomatic service, and so on. Not only is it feasible, it ought to be mandatory.

You, Yanis Yanisovich, spoke about the pain of the nation, the pain of the republic. And I would perhaps tend to agree with you on most aspects discussed. After all, this pain could develop into a sore. And a sore should be treated, not scratched. Every effort should be made for its treatment. Efforts by Moscow, by you, by us all. But if an itch develops, will we be able to do this? I think this would only complicate the treatment. Everyone must thoroughly realize—and when saying everyone I also include myself—how important it is not to hinder the process of renewal, to ensure that it proceeds on a healthy basis. And not to give anyone an excuse to say: "Well then, have you had enough of your democracy? So much for glasnost, look at them getting out of hand." And we do have to hear this said. It is painful. At times it is also justified. This is what is humiliating.

Just think of the joy, the outbursts of sheer joy among conservatives caused by mistakes in the press, especially when they really are mistakes. Someone is accused of traveling on safari to Africa at the state's expense, and yet he has never been to Africa. I could cite many such examples, and even more serious ones.

Why do the comrades from the mass media not present other viewpoints when they exist? This is antidemocratic, this stems from authoritarian thinking, from the old ways; it is a different form of Stalinism. This is why the 19th party conference resolution enshrines the right of substantiated public reply.

And about another aspect of the ethnic question: Language, culture. I am not sure that I ought to even waste breath saying that it is necessary to develop the language, the culture, the traditions. Ethnic development is one of the most vivid manifestations of internationalism, especially in our multinational state. We must simply take practical measures. The Latvian language must be developed. In schools, in science, in literature, and so on. Of course it must, there is no question about it. I think that

it is up to every ethnic group to develop its own language, literature, and traditions. In the same way, incidentally, as it is up to every ethnic group to rebuff any attempts at nationalist displays.

I also agree with the comrades who spoke about the tremendous damage done by unification and gigantomania. It is true that thought must also be given from the viewpoint of the nationalities question. A great deal is highly unified from the Baltic to the Far East. These questions are being raised, now we are abandoning this approach.

The central press is not an all-union press. Correct. But believe me, there have been so many occasions when we have met at conferences, and every time we say: Comrades, you are not Moscow papers, you are all-union papers. Republic material would appear over the next 3 days or so. And then back to the same old ways. Much as I regret to say this, I do think that their apparatus could be cut back by two-thirds, forcing them to reprint articles originating in other republics. There you have some food for thought.

Subscriptions. This is not a political issue, it is a shamefully practical issue. In other words, subscriptions will be at last year's levels. Even so we are short of 50,000 tonnes of paper. We have no idea where to get it. You cannot deliver papermaking machines overnight. Newspapers and journals generate revenue, they are a highly profitable sector. Nonetheless, we are the only country with a paper shortage and a printing base that is neglected beyond belief. This is just another small brush stroke in the overall picture of economic neglect and the economic situation.

Admission to the party. Order must also be imposed here, of course. This was discussed at the last plenum. Hitherto admission has been strictly on the basis of social criteria. The influx of the intelligentsia into the party must not be held back. It is, however, impossible to agree to regulating admission on the basis of ethnic criteria. There is something strange about not admitting a deserving person only because of his ethnic origins. Ethnic origin is a criterion for language, for culture, for traditions, for equal rights, for free self-expression. Let us discuss, let us think, let us ponder.

The last topic I would like to raise is the intelligentsia's role in restructuring. It is great, in some respects decisive, today. Why? Restructuring also means the intellectualization of society. Have you sensed that our society's social intellectualization is already under way? This is a fact. This is noticeable in everything. Even in what you said, Yanis Yanisovich, that people have stopped creating. This serves no purpose. Allow me to criticize you this once. Creative people cannot give up their work. This, begging your pardon, is failure to perform one's duty to the people. Any major writer or artist is part of the nation's wealth. And this wealth should not be neglected. It is very nice, it is wonderful that you, the intelligentsia, are getting involved in politics, working, wanting to help, making mistakes, falling down, getting up, marching on again. Excellent. But if only all this were to be backed by the most diverse, good, and creative work! Really, just look at the books and novels: You read one or two, and you have read them all. Nor can it be said that we have made great strides forward in cinematography, with the exception of documentary movies. And the same applies to the fine arts. We are slightly bestirring ourselves; everything that was lying about on shelves has already been shown and published. We are already waiting for more from you, comrades. Let us have it! Three years have already passed. Are the problems no longer acute, or has the vision of the future disappeared? I would like to ask you all to think everything over again and to join the sensible stream of restructuring, to join it in such a way that we might be able to sense your assistance.

Latvian SSR People's Poet I.Ya. Ziyedonis asked for the floor. He said that there are matters with which the republic could probably cope only after the reconstruction of the economic system, and their solution could wait. But there are also questions which brook no delay. Is it possible to influence a process like migration? Now, for example, we have two waiting lists for apartments—the ordinary and the departmental. According to press reports, twice as many apartments are allocated to people on the second list. Figuratively speaking, this is a channel feeding immorality into the republic. Immorality in the sense that the uncontrolled and disorganized stream of the work force only swells consumer demand. Moral people are those who give more than they take. Is it possible to shut off this channel for residence permits before the plenum on the nationalities question, before the completion of the economic system's reconstruction, the poet asked. After all, while we are talking about resolutions, the process of migration is going on, either deliberately or uncontrollably.

A.N. Yakovlev: I do not think that it is done deliberately. It is much simpler than that. Simpler, just like any other bungling. Specific information must be provided in this case. Which ministries, what is involved, which enterprise, what are the work force requirements, have they switched to economic accountability, for example? A lot depends on this. Say all enterprises in the republic switch to genuine economic accountability. People will be released as a result and then, I think, there will be no need to talk about the rising pace of migration.

But right now it is necessary to specifically examine what is involved in every sector, in every enterprise. This is in the republic's interests.

B.K. Pugo: The point is that we have not switched to intensive labor methods. Right now we can bluntly say who is pumping manpower into our republic. It is the railroad car building plant. Why? Because its technology is totally obsolete. People from Riga would not go to

work there. And then you have light industry. Its modernization is progressing exceptionally slowly. This is why the local population is again unwilling to work in this sector's enterprises.

I would like to call on our creative workers to give attention to these problems. After all, we must work on them jointly so as to really switch to the intensive track.

Work is now being done on a republic Council of Ministers resolution limiting mechanical growth. But none of the questions will be resolved by resolutions until such time as we start working in a fundamentally new fashion, until we have the new economic mechanism working and producing results.

There has been much greater interest in a series of historical questions among the republic's population recently, and especially among its Latvian part, B.K. Pugo went on. This has been accompanied by certain complications in the republic, and maybe more so in Riga. I want to emphasize again the idea expressed by Aleksandr Nikolayevich about the need to cultivate political toleration and political culture. We must be realists. And serious thought must be given to how to prevent ourselves being provoked into actions that could give the opponents of restructuring an opportunity to say that nationalist manifestations are occurring in the republic. The creative intelligentsia could really do much in this regard and be of great help.

Take the language question, for example. We have taken just the initial step, saying aloud that it is really necessary for everyone in the republic to learn the Latvian language as well as Russian, so that people could have the right to ask questions and obtain answers in any institution either in Latvian or in Russian. There must be practical guarantees of this equality. About a year has passed since we started this work. We have a shortage of Latvian language teachers, we could not solve this question quickly, but we are working to solve it.

Very many letters are received from members of the non-Latvian population asking where they could learn Latvian, because the situation with language courses is still poor, there are few courses available. Letters are received from party officials asking for an opportunity to be released from work so as to learn Latvian. They realize that they cannot become fluent in it, but they do wish to learn to converse in the national language. We must certainly do this. And we will.

We are experiencing certain difficulties with the publication of additional textbooks, for example. And yet probably nobody could be of better or greater help in this work than the creative intelligentsia. The time has come for the most vigorous action. It is time to leave slogans and appeals behind and get down to totally specific steps. This is what we would really like to see.

We must significantly improve work to inform the entire population of the problems now perturbing the republic. Our work in this regard is still obviously inadequate in the press, television, and radio. We are aware of these shortcomings and are striving to correct them.

Comrades, we must bear in mind that now, following the 19th party conference and the recent Central Committee plenum, we have opportunities that have never before existed, now we can really build the national economy the way we want it. But independence will not, of course, appear out of the blue. Nor will it appear as a result of our adopting resolutions or directive documents, even though they are necessary for the work. Attitudes and mentality must change to a very great extent. We can do all this. After all, today there is no question about Latvia's future. I think that it is perfectly obvious to us all—Latvia will be socialist. Socialism must be Leninist. This is the socialism to which we are now returning. But we must be very well aware that this return will not be easy to achieve, nor will it be achieved quickly. We really need endurance, understanding, patience, and at the same time really great energy in our work.

A.N. Yakovlev replied to numerous questions asked by participants in the meeting.

The meeting was attended by V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; A.V. Gorbunov, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; and L.L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

Katusev Interviewed on Sumgait Investigations
PM0509103088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 3-9 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 1 Sep 88) p 8

[Interview with USSR Deputy General Prosecutor A. Katusev by our correspondent N. Chaplygin in response to reader's letters, carried on readers' letters page under the general heading "Last Week the Editorial Office Received 3,186 Questions"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] How is the investigation into the mass disorders in Sumgait going? When will all the culprits be punished at last? [Signed] V. Kostenko, Leningrad.

Our correspondent asked USSR Deputy Prosecutor General A. Katusev to answer this and other questions.

[Chaplygin] The events in Sumgait were a fairly long time ago, but we have heard almost nothing recently about how the investigation is going. Letters from Armenia even ask: Has the investigation hit an impasse?

[Katusev] The best forces of the prosecutor's office—more than 100 people—have been brought together to clarify the causes of the disorders and expose the culprits

in Sumgait. The investigation group includes Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and representatives of other nationalities. USSR KGB and MVD workers are collaborating closely with them, the best medics, psychologists, and psychiatrists are involved in the investigation, and a computer is being used.

Of course the investigation has not reached an impasse. The investigation of 25 cases with regard to 42 defendants has already been completed. Several more cases will be handed over to the courts in the next few days. In this case haste is entirely inappropriate—no innocent person must suffer.

It should be taken into account that we are not dealing with ordinary crimes. It is a question of actions by excited crowds of tens or sometimes hundreds of people, as a result of which painstaking work is needed to establish the specific instigators and actors and clearly delimit everyone's actions.

[Chaplygin] On what grounds are criminal cases transferred for examination by the courts of other republics?

[Katusev] Some criminal cases have already been examined by the judicial organs of Azerbaijan. To meet the working people's wishes, it has been decided to examine a number of criminal cases in RSFSR courts. This decision was made in the interests of ensuring maximum objectivity. In each case the USSR Supreme Court determines who shall have jurisdiction.

[Chaplygin] What is the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan today?

[Katusev] Some extremist elements are still trying to provoke the population, but as a rule they are unsuccessful. There are now none of the mass actions that there were before.

[Chaplygin] What actions is the prosecutor's office taking with regard to the corrupt, criminal circles which, it is believed, acted as a kind of catalyst for events in Armenia and Azerbaijan?

[Katusev] In the process of investigating criminal cases considerable importance is attached to clarifying the causes of the mass disorders and exposing the organizers and instigators. All the measures for which the law provides will certainly be adopted with regard to these persons.

[Chaplygin] Aleksandr Filippovich, Radio Liberty in its 20 August broadcast in the Azerbaijani language quoted you as saying that there are KGB workers among those arrested in Sumgait. What can you say about that?

[Katusev] It is a blatant lie. I never said anything of the sort, and it is not true. Incidentally, that is another example of how the events in the Transcaucasian republics have been and still are influenced from abroad. I do not think there is any need to remind you who the Radio Liberty bosses are. They are well known.

Estonian Self-Financing Concept Examined

LD0409220088 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] Some researchers in Estonia, one of the Soviet Baltic republics, have come up with the idea of switching it over to the system of self-financing and self-support. Our reporter has contributed these details:

[Reporter] The system of self-financing and self-support is usually associated with individual enterprises and even branches of industry that dispose of the money they earn themselves, but what happens if this principle is applied to the entire republic? One of the authors of the idea, philospher (Edgar Sovisar), told me that he and other researchers believed that the system of self-support and self-financing would give much scope to local initiatives and opportunities. Our idea, the researcher said, can be boiled down to the following points: First of all, the republic will bear full responsibility for the development of the economy on its territory, and that means the entire economic potential of the republic, all its enterprises, should go under the control of the republic. All its enterprises should go under the control of the republican bodies. So far, (Edgar Sovisar) went on, there have been enterprises on the territory of any reopublic controlled by republican bodies, but there have also been some that are controlled by the central managerial bodies and there are quite a few such enterprises in every republic. Secondly, our scheme provides that the republic will, naturally, be contributing part of its national income to the all-union budget. And the question of how the republic will ensure its further economic development, the growth of its national income, in short, of how it will dispose of the remaining part of the national income, will lie exclusively within the competence of the republic bodies.

It is believed, (Edgar Sovisar) said, that the independence obtained by each constituent republic of the Soviet Union will help it make the maximum use of the advantages connected with the (?peculiarities) of its geographical position, the resources potential, its historical experience, national traditions and culture. So there is a belief in Estonia that the republican system of self-support and self-financing will help the Estonians mobilize all the internal resources and the sources of self-development in the socialist society.

When asked how the Estonian public reacted to the researchers' idea, (Edgar Sovisar) explained that by today the press had already carried more than 120 materials, letters, and reactions to the idea of the republic system of self-support and self-financing. A public

hall in Tallinn holds regular meetings where experts meet those who show interest in the idea and discuss it with them. The Journalists' Union of the republic has set up a special section called "Forum" that informs the public about the work around the concept. At the Economics Institute affiliated to the Estonian Academy of Sciences, a group of 30 researchers has embarked on the study of the problem. Their preliminary variant of the concept is already acquiring practical outlines. I think all the study materials, (Edgar Sovisar) said, will soon be made public.

(Edgar Sovisar) was then asked to comment on the reaction to the Estonian initiative in other regions of the Soviet Union. When a member of the Central Committee Politburo, Nikolay Slyunkov, who is also a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, was addressing the Estonian party activists, he said Estonia was always known in the country as a bold experimentator in the work of restructuring the economic mechanism and seeking new forms of economic management. He recalled that proposals to close unnecessary ministries and managerial bodies in the republic had been coming from Estonia and they were welcomed with enthusiasm in other parts of the country. Estonia was the first republic where the light industry switched over the system of self-financing and self-support. The idea of the regional system of self-suport and self-financing was studied preliminarily at the State Planning Committee of the USSR, at the Finance Ministry and other central managerial bodies. Officials there came to the conclusion that this variant of economic management is quite feasible and that the relationship between the republican and the national budget can and must rest on the long-term (?normative) basis. They also approved the proposal to lift the centralized control over some major industrial enterprises on Estonian territory and transfer them under the republican control. This is bound to ease the grip of central ministries on the Estonian economy and expand the republic's opportunities for managing its own economy.

The idea of economic independence of whole regions was also supported at the recent national party conference, so the self-supporting republic is a new economic category that will appear soon in the country's economy, (Edgar Sovisar) said in conclusion.

Gorkiy Party Plenum Carried on Local Television

LD0409143788 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—"For the first time ever in the practice of the party work and television a plenary session of the Gorkiy regional CPSU Committee was fully broadcast on September 3 by local television", IZVESTIYA wrote today.

The live broadcasting lasted for several hours, the newspaper reported.

"The plenary session was preceded by a month of strenuous work for preparing the live broadcasting which is unusual so far in party practices", I. Chapanov, a senior executive of the Gorkiy Regional Party Committee, told IZVESTIYA by telephone. "A regional newspaper informed its readers of the fact that all the residents of the region will be able to follow the work of the plenary session by TV. They will also be able to participate in it by calling one of the telephone numbers announced in advance right to the conference hall. A lively discussion of the novelty on the pages of the newspaper lasted for about a month. It showed that people had appreciated the initiative. Some 50 telephone calls and proposals were registered during the work of the session.

"We hope that the discussion of burning problems in the presence of the people and with the help of television will become a standard of party work", Chapanov said.

Reader Says Western Radios Now 'Pointless'

PM0609150188 Moscow AGRUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 27 Aug-2 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 25 Aug 88) p 3

[Letter from V. Pochkalov: "I Don't Listen To the 'Voices' Any More"]

[Text] Arkhangelsk—For many years I was a constant listener to the Western "radio voices." It may seem paradoxical, but that was the only way that I could find out about what was going on in my own country. But now that considerable changes are under way in the country and glasnost has been given the go-ahead, the thick barriers of silence are crashing down. We are obtaining information not on public transport or at the market but from newspapers, the radio, and television, and there is no longer any need for me to tune my radio every evening to the frequency of VOA or the BBC.

I reckon that listening to the Western radio voices now is a pointless waste of valuable time.

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 13 Listed

PM0609085888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] The latest, 13th issue of the journal KOMMUNIST opens with an article by G. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "Democratization of Intraparty Life." The CPSU's vanguard role in restructuring and the renewal of society is impossible without profound democratization of the party's internal life, the article stresses. This dialectical interdependence requires profound recognition by all Communists and all party organizations.

Under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience," there are notes by journalist Yu. Feofanov, "Worship the Law With a Free Soul," devoted to the problems of cultivating socialist legal consciousness. "From the 'Culture of Secrecy' to the Information Culture"—that is the title of an article by V. Rubanov, section chief at a USSR KGB scientific research institute, which analyzes questions of glasnost and secrecy in the state's information policy and studies factors retarding the development of glasnost and the spread of information in society. In publishing Ya. Liberman's item "Strategy of Accumulation," the journal returns to the transcripts of the 19th party conference.

V. Kadulin's commentary "Glasnost: Economy and Policy" is devoted to the problems and complexities of the current subscription campaign.

USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems staffer A. Solovyev writes in the journal about the preparation of a new law on pensions.

The section "Debates and Discussions" continues to publish letters devoted to the resolution of the country's water problems. Writer S. Zalygin and other authors reflect on the problems of land reclamation.

The rubric "Science and Education" is represented by Academician L. Tatarinov's article "Darwinism Today." Readers' letters are published in the "Public Opinion" section.

"Morality Without Moralizing" is the title of A. Guseynov's article devoted to problems of society's moral life.

Under the rubric "Man in History—History in Man," a study by G. Bordyugov and V. Kozlov, entitled "Nikolay Bukharin: Eposides of a Political Biography," is published.

International topics are represented in the journal by an article by Yu. Lebedev and A. Podberezkin, "Military Doctrines and International Security," and a review of the theses of a Social Democratic Party of Germany expert on Soviet foreign policy.

Critical and bibliographical materials are also published.

Regulation of Religious Freedom Discussed
PM0109093188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Professor V. Klochkov, state counselor of justice 3d class, doctor of juridical sciences, by IZVESTIYA reviewer Yu. Feofanov under the rubric "Juridical Dialogues": "Freedom of Conscience"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The millenium celebrations of Russia's Christianization have passed. For the first time in living memory the services in churches were shown on television, the press widely reported the celebrations, and M.S. Gorbachev received the most prominent members of the church clergy. But during the festive ceremonies we did not, of course, forget that relations between our state and the church are far from simple. Certain aspects of these relations are touched on in a conversation between IZVESTIYA reviewer Yu. Feofanov and Professor V. Klochkov, state counselor of justice 3d class, doctor of juridical sciences.

[Feofanov] Materialist ideology and religious beliefs are antagonists. If it had been a matter of debating world philosophy, then no questions would have arisen. But we are dealing with something else here. One church official, I think, said that the church must be separate from the state, but not remote from it. What do you think, Valentin Veniaminovich: Is the position of our religious communities adequately guaranteed by our law?

[Klochkov] Our state's attitude to the church is determined not by the degree of world philosophical differences, but by the existence in the country of religion as a relatively widespread phenomenon; by the fact that without religious organizations it is impossible to satisfy the needs of believers and, consequently, to implement their right to freedom of religion. I agree with that churchman: The church must not be remote from the country since it is impossible to forbid religion. So, the party and the state are concerned that Article 52 of the USSR Constitution is precisely executed. But we are not always aware of what lies behind the formula of the Decree on the Separation of the Church From the State—the main legal act which defined their relations. Often it is understood as noninterference by the state in the church's internal affairs, and by the church in the state's affairs. But the state and the church have by no means equal rights in legal relations. Church religious affairs are not subject to legal regulation, but the state can and must "intervene" in them if laws are breached during the performance of religious rites.

In the modern world it is generally recognized that freedom of religion can be subject to legal limitations which are essential to protect public safety and order, citizens' health, morals, rights, and freedoms. In all other respects, religious rites remain outside the sphere of the state's jurisdiction. The church's non-religious activity permitted by the law is not connected with freedom of belief: The general provisions of the appropriate sectors of the law apply to it.

The sense of the Decree on the Separation of the Church From the State is also that believers' organizations do not fulfill any state functions and do not participate in the state organs' activity, and the activities of state and public organizations are not accompanied by religious rites and ceremonies. The state does not give material aid to any community of believers and does not grant particular rights or privileges to a single religion. Information on a citizen's religion is not provided for in any official documents.

The separation of schools from the church is essentially connected with the separation of the church from the state. But this situation does not encroach on the freedom of conscience of a citizen or his family: Parents have the right to give their children an atheist or a religious education.

[Feofanov] But what if a family invites a priest to be its children's tutor?

[Klochkov] Existing legislation does not permit this practice. The question of the essence of parents' right to give their children a religious education will obviously be discussed in preparing the law on the freedom of conscience, taking into account children's interests and development.

[Feofanov] The press is still revealing instances of infringements by the local authorities on the rights of believers and their organizations. A resolution of the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress—this was in 1919—states bluntly: "The resolution draws attention to the absolute inadmissibility of any kind of limitations on this right (freedom of religion—Yu.F.) and of the slightest coercion in questions of religion. Persons who infringe the freedom of belief and worship of citizens of any religion must be subject to severe penalties." There are instances of infringment of believers' rights. But I have not heard of an offender being brought to justice. Through your institute you represent the prosecutor's office. How do matters stand in this respect as regards supervision of legality? I live not far from Pimenovskaya Church in Moscow. This Easter everything was fine. But a few years ago the volunteer people's militia virtually arrested young people attending service, indeed they sometimes did arrest them.

[Klochkov] On Vorobyevskoye highway I happened to see the militia helping believers to get into the church by calming hooligan "atheists." So that instance in itself does not mean much.

[Feofanov] But all the same, it does mean something.

[Klochkov] I do not deny that believers' rights are infringed in some places. Some local leaders still cling to leftist ideas about methods of spreading the scientific world philosophy. Infringing believers' rights to join religious organizations, to open prayer houses, and so on are also connected with the unwillingness of the bureaucratic apparatus to take into consideration the real level of religiosity among the masses, with its type of "over-reporting" in ideological work—so that it looks good. It is as though some local organs do not want to know the state laws. What, you may ask, is the official's responsibility for infringing believers' rights? If it exists it is not sufficiently strict, although the prosecutor's office is also taking measures to increase supervision. As far as Soviet law is concerned, it never established any responsibility for religious convictions.

[Feofanov] How shall I put it.... In 1929 the Lenin decree, of course, was not abolished but "directions" and "instructions" substantially amended it; "allowances were made" during the war, and when the personality cult was exposed the "screws were tightened" once again.

[Klochkov] I cannot agree with you. In 1929 the republican legal acts "On Religious Associations" were adopted, mainly based on the Lenin decree. Assessments of these acts in the mass media have lately been quite one-sided in nature. As a result they suggest and sometimes come to the unjustified conclusion that they must be almost completely revised.

[Feofanov] Don't you think that the very status of the church in our state is not defined clearly enough by legislation? Shouldn't the law be more reliable in ensuring believers' rights and provide processes for appeal against a local authority's acts if they are illegal?

[Klochkov] I agree. Precision in the law is always a blessing. But, in improving legislation, we should not permit the positive element which exists in it to be lost. I shall cite just one of the principal statutes. In prerevolutionary Russia neither parishes of the orthodox church nor religious societies of other religions had the right to self-management. The decree and the legal acts of 1929 introduced democratic principles into the organization and activity of religious associations. In accordance with them believers have the right to set up local voluntary associations (religious societies and groups of believers) and to participate in resolving all questions of their activity.

While assessing extremes in religious organizations most harshly, all the same I could not say that our state had any campaign sanctioned by higher authority to "tighten the screws." What happened in genetics, cybernetics, linguistics, and so on did not happen in religion.

[Feofanov] Agreed. The more so as not only is there no persecution now but instances of so-called "suppression" are becoming rare. But there are civil law relations between the church and state. I have read the collection of normative acts dated 1929. They contain plenty of bans. For example, the permission of the local soviet is needed to hold a service off the church premises. One can assume that this permission is not given without sufficient justification. But why should it be necessary to get permission? Why not make provision for it in a law within certain limits? Or property matters: By chance I found out that even gifts from parishioners and well-wishers from abroad and other churches are not the community's property. Why?

[Klochkov] Yes, the republican laws are like that. They are based on the principle proclaimed in Article 12 of the Decree on the Separation of the Church From the State and Schools From the Church: "No church or religious society has the right to own property."

[Feofanov] Will this situation be changed?

[Klochkov] It has already been changed a lot. Religious organizations have the right to buildings, transportation, and essential equipment for their needs.

Now, about holding services outside the place of worship without permission of the local soviet ispolkom. Let me say one thing: Even in the Vatican the law forbids religious processions, ceremonies, and funeral processions without the governor's permission. But I agree that a procedure to appeal against ispolkom decisions for a ceremony outside the place of worship must be established. There is hardly any need to maintain the permission procedure for conducting religious rites and ceremonies in believers' apartments and homes.

[Feofanov] You give the impression that believers' rights and the church position in Tsarist Russia were deplorable.... It was probably worse for adherents of different faiths under the old regime. I also know that Peter abolished the patriarchate and took the church under state control. But we are the ones who destroyed hundreds of magnificent churches. It is not rare for a believer to be forced to hide his feelings so that there is no discrimination at work, so that people do not look unfavorably on him.

[Klochkov] No, I am not comparing the position of the Orthodox Church, which basically dictated its ideology to society in ancient Russia, with the position of our religious associations. But a fact is a fact: Russia could not boast of real freedom of religion. Notably for dissenters and Old Believers. Under our law discrimination against believers is a crime.

[Feofanov] The USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs and, accordingly, its local organs, settle all questions of relations between the state and the church. I do not want to offend the council, but all the same this is a purely administrative department. Do you not think it possible and even essential to have corresponding commissions in the soviets, right up to the Supreme Soviet? Commissions for "matters of conscience?" Say what you like, this concerns the interests and rights of millions of people—patriots, workers, citizens. There are commissions for matters of construction, agriculture, and so on, but there is none for "spiritual matters." Incidentally, a religious individual as a citizen retains his electoral rights, including the right to be elected to a soviet.

[Klochkov] You are exaggerating somewhat the functions of the Council for Religious Affairs, which are more humble: It acts as a link between the Soviet Government and religious organizations when questions arise which require the government's permission. According to ispolkom representations, the Council makes direct decisions about registering religious organizations and striking them from the register and about opening and closing places of worship.

[Feofanov] In fact its role is not so modest. But this is not even the question. I was talking about the local soviet.

[Klochkov] The soviet also decides questions of substance, including concluding agreements with religious societies on transferring to them the free use of places of worship and religious property. The soviet ispolkoms have a commission to help monitor the observance of legislation on religious rites.

[Feofanov] But I am not talking about ispolkoms, or about bureaucratic apparatuses, which include commissions. I am talking about deputies' commissions.

[Klochkov] I think that guarantees of freedom of conscience are not increased by creating new formations but by improving legal regulation and stepping up the efficiency of the existing system's activity. Although I am not against deputies' commissions.

[Feofanov] Now our entire social life is being restructured, and certain state structures are being reexamined. The church has nothing to do with the latter. But it is not outside society. Obviously, restructuring has also affected it. It can be said quite precisely that the attitude to the church is changing.

[Klochkov] Restructuring in the sphere of freedom of conscience also requires a legal guarantee. As I said, a law is being prepared. But this must not be a "law on religious organizations." The idea that, in a society in which the majority are nonbelievers, problems in preserving the rights of atheists do not exist, should be discarded. Notions, in other words, that freedom of religion needs to be regulated and guaranteed but that it is enough to declare freedom of atheism. There must be a law on freedom of conscience. And it must clearly define the duties of all the participants in juridical relations in the sphere of exercising freedom of conscience and establishing responsibility for carrying them out—a definition lacking in present legislation. And I agree with you that the status of the church, its rights, and the guarantees of those rights should be defined with the utmost precision.

It seems expedient to support the constitutional norm of criminal legal responsibility for stirring up hostility and hatred between believers and nonbelievers, and also between followers of different religions.

Medvedev Comments on Teaching History

PM0209100288 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 88 p 2

[Interview with social scientist Roy Medvedev by B. Minayev under the rubric "August Teaching Council": "Without Any Pages Torn Out: Social Scientist Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev Reflects on What the New History Textbook Should Be Like"; date and place of interview not given—item begins with two readers' letters]

[Text] "I am 17. I have read the novel 'Children of the Arbat,' I read in the newspapers and journals about the repressions, about the persecution of Zoshchenko and

Akhmatova, about Lysenkoism, and I find life terrible. Do you understand? There is a kind of emptiness ahead of me. I used to believe that there are difficulties, but we will overcome them. After all, we have such a heroic past. But now? How can I regain that faith? [Signed] Sergey Slipkov, Krasnodar Kray." (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 February 1988.)

"Sergey! You are 17—you are lucky, I am 47. You write that there is a kind of emptiness ahead of you. I have emptiness behind me. I studied in school, then at the institute, and then I spent 20 years teaching children in school. I held a great many lessons, educational sessions, and political briefings—I always made use of the press. I believed and I taught the children that our country is a country of justice and honesty, and that it is led by the Central Committee (plural, not singular). A teacher's lesson was assessed according to what we told the students about Brezhnev's books, and the press said they were the books of life.

"And how did it turn out?

"They lied to us, we lied, so what kind of people were we raising then, and how? On the basis of what traditions? And how can we go on teaching and raising children?

"It is easier for the press, it knows how to dance to any tune, but how can we teachers look our former pupils in the eye? Were we lying to them for the whole 10 years?

"I think it is very bad that our press publishes articles about Stalin, Brezhnev, and Beria, revealing their bad sides. After all, they had their merits too, they led us, and that was plural, not singular, although even leaders are people and they too can make mistakes. [Signed] T. Lyaskalo, mathematics teacher, Poltava Oblast."

[Medvedev] I read the two letters you showed me, and I must admit that I found both of them extremely displeasing. First and foremost because of the consumerist moral stance that is present in them, in both of them. If I am surrounded entirely by good people, outstanding specialists, and honest citizens, fine, then I agree to be good too and do my duty. But what if I am surrounded by drunkards, bribe-takers, and louts? If the history of our country contains not only heroic victories, but also grave tragedies, mistakes, abuses, Stalin's crimes—what then? Do I retire from life and bear a grudge against the whole world? With a wave of the hand—to hell with you all, take care of your own problems?..

Paradoxically, the letters from the teacher and the student, despite the difference of age and experience of life, both contain an identical burden of infantilism. You would think the teacher's letter would arouse sympathy—she writes that for many years she was made to tell lies in class. But I am afraid she is lying now, too. Because anyone with any common sense could not, in class, have sincerely described the works signed with the name of L.I. Brezhnev as outstanding works. No one with any common sense could have failed to notice the contradictions of our history and the life around them or to know about N.S. Khrushchev's report at the 20th party congress—or else that teacher was poorly prepared for their work, and that is not their fault, but it is unfortunate.

Let me cite some examples from my own life. A terrible test fell to the lot of my generation. I and literally all my comrades had fathers who were unlawfully repressed. My father was a military commissar, he raised my brother and me excellently, but then he was arrested, we were thrown out onto the street, and I could not help realizing even then that they could hardly do that in the "most just" of countries.... I and many people of my generation had, as you can see, a weighty reason for bearing a grudge against our country. But we did not do so. Wartime came, we were 17, and at the summons we presented ourselves at the recruiting office to go and fight the enemy.

After the 20th party congress my comrades and I certainly felt bitterly disappointed. The facts we had learned seemed terrible to us. But there was also an inevitable sense of relief. What we had not understood before was at last explained. The repressions were explained, not only those of the thirties. Several deans of our faculty were arrested, and students disappeared too. We could not fail to notice this, we could not help thinking about it.

I was a history teacher in a village in the Urals in the postwar Stalinist (and the first Khrushchev) years. I knew almost nothing about Stalin's crimes. But life itself, the life around me, did not allow me to ignore the negative phenomena, the shadowy sides of reality. In one village there lived the workers from the gold fields, rich people who had cows and horses. In another were the so-called "special settlers," the dekulakized peasants. They lived in terrible conditions. In a third were Old Believers, who also sent their children to school. The existence of these three lifestyles in our socialist system had to be explained somehow to the children!...

The stereotype of the "heroic past" is in general a rather harmful and senseless stereotype. True, history should not be painted all black. There were the feats of the Civil War, the feats of industrialization, the feats of the Great Patriotic War. There was the building of a new industrial economy, the formation of new moral values in culture. I will never forget the impression the movies "We Are From Kronshtadt" and "Chapayev" made on me.... That is real revolutionary art. But there were also facts of an entirely different kind. There were within our socialist system terrible vestiges of past epochs—slavery in the form of the camps of the gulag, feudalism in the form of Stalin's kolkhozes, where the peasants were not issued with passports and were in effect tied to the land. This contradictory, complex quality of history applies not only to different eras, but also to historical personalities.

In a word, if you see injustice in history or in the present day, then fight it, don't give up.

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, all the same, you can understand Sergey Slipkov, because after all, this is perhaps the first time in our entire history (or for a very long time) that we can read one thing in a textbook, and read something completely different, or even the exact opposite, in newspapers and journals about those same years.

[Medvedev] I do not agree with you. In ordinary life too, when I hear now one thing, now another about my neighbor old Vasya, I have to know how to think independently and find my own point of view. And this is particularly important—to know how to think for yourself—in public life, on matters that worry and concern us all. Kautsky, the well-known theorist of socialism whom Lenin not only criticized harshly, but at one time assessed highly, said that socialism is characterized by unity in the sphere of industrial production and anarchy in the ideological, theoretical sphere. That is to say, a situation where different newspapers, different journals, different people (for instance, that same Anatoliy Rybakov [author of "Children of the Arbat"] on the one hand and Yuriy Bondarev on the other) write about the same things in different ways—this is a situation that should not be eradicated, but developed. Because this situation is normal for our system. I cannot see anything terrible about today's situation for Sergey Slipkov and his peers. This situation is normal and beneficial to the development of the personality!

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, pluralism of opinions is indeed a fine basis for the development of an independent personality. But a school history textbook should be marked by the unity of its historical concept. What new methodological approach would you propose to the compilers of the new textbook?

[Medvedev] Some 25 years ago I was working at the "Enlightenment" publishing house and was myself involved in the preparation of new school textbooks. My personal approach is that a history textbook cannot be in the singular, it must be plural, there should be several textbooks. This may not seem convincing to the authors of the letters I have commented on, but in this respect I have in mind the positive experience of the United States, where 10, 20, or 50 textbooks in national history can exist in the schools simultaneously!

Here it should also be added: In general a history teacher, and indeed any other teacher, who teaches only according to the textbook is a bad teacher.

That is, I mean that every teacher should possess a wealth of facts and be able to explain them to class "A" and class "B" in different ways—otherwise it does not matter what textbook you have, the subject will be boring for the children.... History will be boring! So the teacher can and should talk about the same events and people in different ways, and the student could eventually read two textbooks where these facts are set forth in different ways—there is nothing terrible about that.

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, you have said that a good teacher is a teacher in whose lessons the kids can learn much more than is written in the textbook. This is, so to speak, axiomatic in education. But should we not change our ideas today about a good teacher, and in particular a history teacher? Perhaps today (and we can see this clearly, by contrast, from the example of T. Lyaskalo's letter) a good teacher is one who is able first and foremost to explain the new facts that appear every day in the periodical press, who possesses the skills of historical thinking and is able and unafraid to put forward a hypothesis about where society is going and how it is developing?

[Medvedev] I must agree with you there. But I must also observe with regret that today teachers like that are very rare exceptions in our schools. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that 50 years ago, when I was at school, the teaching staff, the school's intellectual and cultural resources, were of a higher standard than 30 years ago, when I myself went into teaching, and recently, when my own children and grandchildren were at school, I hardly met with any of the kind of teachers who existed 30 years ago, and did not meet any of the kind that existed 50 years ago.

We must take every measure to attract talented people into education. This is not as difficult as it looks, because it is possible to bring talented and educated people from the whole catchment area to the school on the basis of what is called a partial teaching load, for between 2 and 6 hours a week. Let military men, scientists, writers, and economic workers teach a particular subject in school, create the right conditions for this, authorize it! And the benefits will be enormous. I myself would be glad to teach history in school for 2 hours a week—I cannot manage any more than that, but...they do not invite me, it is not done! This practice is possible even in the countryside, where there are also people who are specialists in their own spheres, to say nothing of a city like Moscow! A vast intellectual potential is concentrated here, yet I notice that the gulf between the standard of cadres at a scientific institution and the standard of VUZ teachers is enormous, while the gulf between the latter and schoolteachers is verging on the incredible! Yet throughout the ages major scientists have also been major teachers, have had many students, an entire school, and threads stretched from that "school" to the ordinary school, the secondary school. Today these links are broken, we have carried out a departmental demarcation of science, culture, and education. That is absurd, and it is one of the roots of the crisis in education.

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, coming back to the subject of the history lesson—in your opinion, does the abandonment of the stereotype of the "heroic past" mean that the new textbook should review and radically rework not only the era of the "personality cult"....

[Medvedev] But also all the other periods in Soviet history? That is quite correct. History, however banal this may sound, should be truthful, honest. That is the difficulty of compiling a new textbook—not merely to "rewrite" the Stalinist period, but to take a new look at all eras and periods in light of absolutely new and by no means always pleasant facts.

I think that the new textbook must reflect the full complexity and contradictory nature of our history—as is done, for instance, in Sholokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don," which is to this day, in my view, the greatest book in Soviet literature. And if that goal is achieved, the history textbook will at last be a book through which whole generations will be not only taught but educated, because, apart from the facts, it will also give them an attitude to facts, moral guidelines. The very same task faces the compilers of another school textbook—the literature textbook, which we have been unsuccessfully criticizing for 30 years or so.

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, how, in your view, should facts be selected for the new history textbook? Is there some kind of "moderation in truth" here, because the facts can be really cruel....

[Medvedev] Nothing is easier to write than an easy history, a history without tragedy. Hence the grievances, the protests, the incomprehension of young people who have suddenly found out that they were told untruths at school. If you begin by talking in class about the complexity of our progress, the difficulties of this struggle, the tragic clashes that are encountered on this path—in my view, that means raising an independently thinking person oriented toward fighting for justice.

[Minayev] Roy Aleksandrovich, obviously the documents created at the time—slogans, pamphlets, orders—can tell us much about an era. There are few of these authentic documents in the history textbook at present....

[Medvedev] There should not be many of them in a textbook. But a history reader should be compiled and published. The selection of documents should, of course, be objective, and should not avoid all the tricky points....

[Minayev] Obviously one of the trickiest points arises when the student asks the teacher: Why does a contradiction arise between the stated humanist aims of the revolution and the complex historical reality?

[Medvedev] We should know how to explain that contradiction. This is the nature of any revolution; it is time, at last, to say so honestly. We say: The great French Revolution was bourgeois, and therefore departed from its ideals. But the stereotype that in October 1917 all the main problems of our history were resolved and it only remained for us to perfect a few elements and develop the economy and culture is profoundly erroneous, an idea that comes from the Stalin years. October set the tasks; how they are resolved depends on us.

Crowds Besiege Booking Offices in Crimea

AU0209121188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 28 Aug 88 p 2

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent O. Pronina: "How To Get Out From the Crimea?"]

[Excerpt] These days Simferopol airport and railroad station resemble the tower of Babel. They are dispatching about 40,000 passengers every day, but this, in bureaucratic jargon, only amounts to 50 percent of the arising needs.

Statistically, the average passenger is compelled to spend 2-3 days of his long-awaited annual leave in lines for tickets. Anna Ivanovna Vedernikova from Irkutsk even spent 5 days in lines. She has two numbers written on the palm of her hand: No 603 for railroad booking offices, and No 383 for the aviation ones. And she is rushing from one line to another, cursing the day when she decided to go so far with three children without return tickets. But she does not give up hope.

N.N. Mukha, a woman from Leningrad, intervened in my conversation with Vedernikova: "The notes you are making are useless. Nothing has changed. I have been making my trips to the south for 15 years running, and the only thing I have seen were lines, lines, lines...." [passage omitted]

Quake Hits Black Sea Coast; No Damage Reported

LD0709110288 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Batumi September 7 TASS—An earthquake measuring five points jolted the southern regions of the Black Sea coast in the Caucasus at 0:16 local time today.

The underground tremor was felt not only in Batumi, but also in the maritime zone north of the Colchis Lowland, specifically in the town of Poti.

The head of the Tbilisi Central Seismic Observatory of the Geophysics Institute, Georgian Academy of Sciences, A. Akhalbedashvili, told TASS that the shock was six points in the epicentre of the earthquake located 15-20 kilometres south-west of Kobuleti.

No destruction has been reported.

Ammonia Leak at Odessa Port Affects Residents

LD0609191488 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Odessa September 6 TASS—An accident took place on board the "Noble Sky" gas carrier which is the property of the Norske Hydro Norway firm and which

arrived under the Panamanian flag in the Odessa commercial seaport Yuznyy on the Black Sea for a cargo of liquid ammonia. A leakage of gas developed because of a malfunction in the loading system of the vessel, a TASS correspondent was told at the Black Sea Shipping Line.

The feed of ammonia has immediately been cut off. Rescue operations were started. The crews of two ships berthed nearby—a Chinese and a Soviet ones, were urgently taken by boats to the opposite shore of the lagoon in which the port is situated. The "Noble Sky" whose crew found shelter in the airtight compartment was towed to a place where it posed no danger, to outer roads of the Black Sea. The malfunction discovered was corrected there. But the ship was not allowed to return to the port to be fully loaded. The directorate of the plant in the port opposed this justifiably, as there was no certainty about the reliability of the vessel's loading system.

A cloud of ammonia quickly spread toward the nearby settlement of Novye Bilyary. Its residents immediately felt this. Many people developed headaches and had a burning sensation in the eyes. Some vomited. Luckily, the poisoning was not so severe as to require anybody's hospitalization.

Casualties, Damage in Buryatiya Floods Noted

LD0609180988 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Ulan Ude September 6 TASS—The second wave of the flooding generated by a powerful cyclone from Mongolia has hit the eastern regions of Soviet Buryatiya, Transbaykal area.

The rivers Uda, Kurba and Kodun [name as received] and numerous small streams and brooks burst their banks following torrential rains.

More than 10,000 hectares of farmland, houses and sheep impounds have been inundated. Bridges have been destroyed, road traffic has been disrupted. There are human casualties.

According to weather experts, the water level in the Uda and other rivers continues to rise by 8-10 cm a day.

Agricultural

Ligachev, Nikonov Visit Tula Oblast Farms 31 Aug

LD0109155688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today, Comrades Ligachev and Nikonov, Politburo members and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, accompanied by a group of leaders from central newspapers and journals of the State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting, completed a trip to Tula Oblast. At the Lenin's Path Kolkhoz and the Zybino Pedigree Livestock Sovkhoz in Yasnogorskiy Rayon, they acquainted themselves with the organization of financially autonomous relations in agricultural production on the basis of leasing and cooperatives. [passage omitted] The first stop of Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, and the leaders of the mass media was at the home of the Chirikovs. They talked about the further possibilities of family farming and the development of its technical base.

[Begin recording] [Ligachev] Do you have any need, Galina Ivanovna, for what Viktor Petrovich is talking about—for such equipment and small-scale mechanization? Is there a need, or isn't there?

[Chirikova] Yes, of course. If it is improved. Of course.

[Nikonov] We have now also started producing cages for broiler chickens. They could be delivered here—thirty cages, perhaps. Or for laying hens. They're convenient. Just put feed in, or whatever else they need once a week. We're now producing a large quantity of incubators for 50 eggs so that, for example, you don't need to go anywhere else, since that's usually some distance away. You can incubate each month, and there's a lot of space. So there you are.

Our poultry industry is turning into a production and scientific association, with its own design office and factories. [passage omitted on correspondent profiling the Zybino Pedigree Livestock Sovkhoz, where 50 primary cooperatives operate, run by leaseholders and managed by an elected board headed by an elected chairman]

[Ligachev] Some people are still asking what a farm gains from cooperative working or whatever, and (?from going over to) teams, small ones, and then individual leaseholdings. After all, we are getting away from collective running of the farm; we are fixing on small collectives or on one person. Won't we lose the quality of collectivist labor? [words indistinct] But it is the way that lease subcontracting is run [words indistinct] that, perhaps, really does give rise to real collectivists, who in fact do worry both about their own interests and those of the collective, both large and small, [passage indistinct].

[Nikonov] Aleksandr Yuryevich, we have now arrived at the idea that there is no such thing as a collective owner; collective labor is a blessing, but as for collective responsiblity, that comes to just the same thing as irresponsibility. When every specific person has his own thing, that is one thing, but collective responsibility as a whole is another matter.

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] You mean everyone has his own equipment, his own resources? [words indistinct] problem. Do please tell us.

[Nikonov] It is a problem that life itself sets. (?It has been worked through) and has brought us to (?philosophical) conclusions.

[Unidentified speaker] [Name indistinct] said that he is not a theorist, but (?he is replying) to a theoretician's question about overcoming alienation from social ownership and from authority, from management. But two questions, very important theoretical ones to be answered, were set by the 27th party congress. [passage indistinct]

[Ligachev] It is interesting, I have already thought about this. Recently Viktor Petrovich and I and other comrades have been looking at the recommendations published in the papers today, the answers to the questions. I want [words indistinct] in the framework of socialist ownership, in the framework of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. To a certain extent there have been reservations, fears that perhaps this might start spoiling what has been created by whole generations (?of people). But what I see here is something quite different; this farm is not even considering developing lease subcontracting and leasing outside of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz, and the whole system is directed not toward enfeebling the kolkhoz or sovkhoz and the fundamental (?organizational) [word indistinct], but rather toward strengthening them. [end video recording]

[Announcer] One could say that Lenin's concept of socialism as a system of civilized cooperators is being made real.

Discuss Production Relations

LD0109194588 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Tula September 1 TASS—Issues of perfecting production relations in the countryside and spreading various forms of leasing contract were discussed at the August 31 meeting with Yegor Ligachev and Viktor Nikonov, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Tula region.

Workers of an agro-industrial complex 200 kilometres south of Moscow are applying much effort to introduce forms of organising and stimulating production on the basis of cost-accounting.

Nikonov observed in his remarks that the experience of the Tula farmers showed that changes in organising work on collective and state farms should be started from below, rather than from above, with the economic necessity and interest of the working man placed at the basis of the undertaking.

Ligachev pointed out that perestroyka meant the all-round unfolding of socialism's potential.

In turning to new forms of economic management, people sought to implement one of the basic principles of socialism: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.

The combination of the personal and public interest was taking shape within the framework of the collective economic setup based on public socialist property.

This provided broad opportunities for unfolding the individual's abilities. The individual was becoming the maker, rather than the doer.

"The West is pressing us hard to the tracks of capitalist development," Ligachev said. "Some people abroad want very much that we embrace the capitalist market economy. This would inevitably lead to the existence of the reserve pool of jobless and homeless, this would inevitably lead to social unfairness in all its manifestations.

"Indeed, we should use market, commodity-and-money relations—but within the framework of socialism, with a view to revealing all its advantages and possibilities.

"We don't need the reduction of jobs as labour productivity grows. We need such a combination when the growth of labour productivity is accompanied by the increase in the number of jobs and in the creation of conditions for the all-round development of the individual."

"The party has embarked on perfecting production relations in the countryside, a link in its agrarian policy that, combined with the steady consolidation of the material and technical basis of agriculture, can guarantee growth of food production," Ligachev pointed out in conclusion.

Address to Farmers

PM0709091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Key Link of Agrarian Reform"]

[Excerpts] The radical restructuring of the agro-industrial complex aimed at most speedily resolving the food problem envisages a transition to economic management methods and the total mobilization of the human factor.

Much work to introduce economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] forms of labor organization and incentives is under way in Tula Oblast, which Ye.K. Ligachev and V.P. Nikonov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, visited 31 August together with a group of leaders of the central newspapers, journals, and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. They inquired about the improvement of production relations in rural areas and the establishment of various forms of lease contract. [passage omitted]

At the "Zybino" State Breeding Plant there was a committed and thorough discussion about the assimilation of contract relations at the farm. [passage omitted].

The experience of the Tula crop farmers, V.P. Nikonov noted in his speech, indicates that transformations in labor organization in kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be initiated not from above by the imposition of various innovations but from below, on the basis of prevailing economic necessity and the interest of the working person.

The collective contract began to be introduced in the country's agriculture in 1983. Now, if you take reports from oblasts, krays, and republics, it already encompasses 85 percent of arable land and 70 percent of all productive livestock. But in fact, if you look carefully, there is a great deal of formalism here and the habit of working merely for the report. The scramble to boost figures ruined real work for a long time.

Now there is a new and more effective style of contract—the lease contract.

Some people ask in perplexity: Aren't we going off the rails of socialist development and breeding a capitalist mode of production? We answer: No. A real master is being born on socialist soil. It can now be asserted firmly that the only means of doing this is daily, persistent work to shape public opinion. It appears that the most difficult thing is to change people's way of thinking and convince them. This can be achieved most effectively through concrete experience, in this case that of the "Zybino" collective and other farms and enterprises in the country's agro-industrial complex that are endeavoring to improve the food supply.

The mass media must work on this problem well and must not stick to covering any one chosen path and method. Support must be given to everything based on the principles that are the foundation of our economy, principles that galvanize man's creative activity. Such forms may be innumerable but just one goal must be pursued—to comprehensively disclose socialism's potential for resolving the food problem.

Mass media leaders and journalists must mix more frequently with people from the countryside of today and give them a chance to recount their experience themselves.

Agriculture, the CPSU Central Committee secretary continued, has many other problems and the press should concentrate its attention on resolving them. For instance, the problem of equipping the countryside, including leaseholders, with highly productive reliable equipment and developing the food and processing industries and also trade. Readers expect from our press indepth, thought-provoking analytical material which points people toward concrete experience.

Ye.K. Ligachev summed up the results of the business-like discussion on ways to improve production relations in rural areas.

We are carrying out complex pioneering work in renewing our socialist system, he said. Speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and other party and government leaders broadly and thoroughly reveal the substance of this extremely complex revolutionary process. I would like to draw your attention to just one aspect of this question. When we say "restructuring," we often add—this is the comprehensive deployment of socialism's potential. Today you and I have seen for ourselves clearly that people here are in fact tackling this. They are essentially endeavoring to implement one of the fundamental principles of socialism: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor. At first glance, a matter of common knowledge. This principle has become conventional, as it were. Sometimes we talk our heads off about it. But here on the farm you somehow understand it particularly keenly: For remuneration is indeed based on the quality and quantity of labor. There is simply no room for lazy, negligent people here. The system itself and the atmosphere established in the collective oust such people or force them to work with a will on an equal footing with honest, conscientious people. So personal and public interests are strongly intertwined here. Moreover, this combination is emerging within kolkhozes based on social socialist ownership.

Here is a second aspect. I think that extensive opportunities are offered here for man's capabilities to be revealed. Whereas before man was primarily the executor, now he is becoming the creator. This is probably what attracts many people, notably young people. In short, without belittling the role of older generations, it can be said that young people must take on more and more of the load in everything that is now being done in the economy to improve production relations.

A further point. The question of social justice. This collective totally embodies it and social justice really triumphs here. Socialism is diversity. We can see how wide the variety of forms of labor organization and incentives can be from the example of the small primary cell in our society represented by the "Zybino" collective.

All our work associated with the improvement of production relations exploits socialism's potential to the hilt, as it were.

People in the West are intensively pushing us onto the path of capitalist development. Some people would very much like us to switch to the rails of a capitalist market economy. This necessarily presupposes the presence of a reserve army of unemployed and homeless people and necessarily involves social injustice in all its manifestations. We must indeed use market, commodity-money relations, but within the framework of socialism, in order to reveal all its advantages and capacities. We do

not want increased labor productivity to be accompanied by a reduction in jobs. We need a combination whereby increased labor productivity is accompanied in society on the whole by an increase in jobs and the creation of conditions for the harmonious development of working people's personality.

It is very gratifying that we have met people here—genuine innovators personified by the entire collective and its leaders—who are conducting a quest, moreover, in a very complex sphere, the sphere of improving production relations and educating man.

I would like to ask the representatives of the mass media and propaganda who are present here to extend their work to cover the problems of the countryside and to use talented journalists on this matter. Various approaches can be used here: economic, organizational, political, and moral. A great range of journalists, specialists, scientists, practical workers, and so on can be enlisted for this. We need this because this time we have firmly sworn, literally vowing to ourselves, to conduct matters only on the basis of persuasion, persuasion, and once again persuasion. For if we turn to the administrative path again, we will destroy even such a splendid matter as the diverse system of contractual relations. That being so, the role of the press, radio, television, and information agencies in propagandizing these relations is increasing in an extraordinary fashion. Organizational work in all the mass media must be stepped up. Figuratively speaking, we need more tenacity and persistence and we need to carry all the ideas that we are propagandizing through to fruition.

The party has set about improving production relations in the countryside, a link in its agrarian policy which, in conjunction with the constant strengthening of agriculture's material and technical base, can ensure an increase in the production of foodstuffs.

At the "Zybino" state breeding plant Ye.K. Ligachev and V.P. Nikonov visited a rural store and asked about the range of products and industrial goods and their prices. A conversation was struck up here with residents of the village on the course of restructuring.

Ye.K. Ligachev and V.P. Nikonov were accompanied by Yu.I. Litvintsev, first secretary of Tula party obkom, V.D. Aninyev, chairman of the oblispolkom; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; and other senior CPSU Central Committee workers.

Murakhovskiy at Agro-Industrial Committee Meeting
LD0609140088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2143 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] As has already been reported, on 5 September Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko presented the top awards of the motherland to a large group of comrades in the Kremlin. A large number of these comrades are agricultural workers. After the award ceremony, a meeting took place with the leadership of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee.

[A. Zaraelyan, voice over video of meeting in session] Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the country's State Agro-Industrial Committee, addressed greetings to the award winners at the meeting. After that, however, the ceremonial part seemed to come to an end and work began. This meeting was more reminiscent of a business conference. How can per-hectare yields be increased and grain ears be grown fuller, while at the same time preserving the purity of our rivers and forests? How can steady increases in yields of milk and meat be obtained? What are the prospects for improved machinery for rural areas? How can questions relating to the social development of the village be more successfully resolved, if frequently, in spite of governmental decisions, these questions fall upon deaf ears at oblast and rayon level and get stuck as if in a marshy swamp?

Acute and urgent questions were put to Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy and to the heads of the State Agro-Industrial Committee subdepartments. These people's genuine concern and anxiety is about their main task, their common task of how to feed the country. For it is no secret that people often judge restructuring by the shop counters, but shop counters for the moment mostly do not please the eye with their abundance. [passage omitted on problems women kolkhoz workers face]

Regional Developments for 1-3 Sep Noted

LD0409234488 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 1-3 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 September

Lithuanian farms have begun to harvest potatoes. (1100)

Workers from the Madaniyat Kolkhoz in Kirgizia have leased arable land in Spasskiy Rayon, Ryazan Oblast. They will grow potatoes. Half the crop will go to the owners of the land and the lessees will send the rest home. This is the way the problems of surplus manpower on south Kirgizian farms and its acute shortage in the non-Chernozem Zone is being solved. (1100)

Wheat sowing has begun in the Ukraine. About 10 million hectares of the best land will be under winter wheat varieties. (1300)

The farmers of the Saydy Sovkhoz are the first in Yakutia to have finished harvesting. They gathered an average of 20.5 quintals per hectare, more than twice the

planned target. This is the first time that such a harvest of rye and barley has been gathered under the conditions prevailing in Yakutia, the lands of which are located in a permafrost zone. (1300)

2 September

Tselinograd Oblast grain farmers have cut spring crops from an area of over 1 million hectares in the last 5 days; the general result amounts to over 2 million hectares, which is all but one-half of the grain area. (0204)

Tajikistan fodder procurers have turned in 2 million tonnes of coarse and succulent fodder this year, as well as more than 630,000 tonnes of haylage and 500,000 tonnes of silage. The harvest relay has passed from the valley regions to the mountainous regions of the Pamirs and the Pamir-Alay; the farmers of Murgab Rayon are hard at it at a height of more than 3,000 meters above sea level. (0204)

Grass-cutting is continuing on farms in Kirgizia, where the front-ranking farms of Oshskaya Oblast and the Chuy Valley are on their fifth cut of alfalfa, while the farmers of Narynskaya Oblast are lagging behind significantly. The republic's state agro-industrial committee's data state that more than 3.8 million tonnes of coarse fodder have been laid in. This is 85 percent of planned commitments. (0400)

Saratov Oblast sovkhozes and kolkhozes have sold more than 500,000 tonnes of grain to the state, including 100,000 tonnes of strong, valuable, and hard-variety wheat. (1300)

Kursk Oblast farmers have fulfilled their plan for selling grain to the state, sending 930,000 tonnes of grain to procurement points. The harvesting took more than a month because of the bad weather. (1800)

3 September

Sowing of winter crops has begun in Kirgizia, where they will now cover almost 250,000 hectares. (0204)

Novosibirsk Oblast farms have completed the sowing of winter crops. The area sown to intensive rye has increased. More and more farms are busy with winter wheat; however, the problem is that so far only one local variety has been designed for the area. (1500)

Altay farms are now threshing and grain crops have been cleared from 40 percent of the total area. Harvesting of rye peas has been completed. Farms are concentrating on spring wheat. (1300)

Bryansk Oblast Records Grain Harvest Success

PM0209113988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Sep 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Grain for the Motherland"]

[Text] Bryansk, 1 Sep—Bryansk Oblast farmers have fulfilled the order for grain sales to the state. More than 200,000 tonnes of grain have been dispatched to procurement centers. Three rayons and around 50 farms in the oblast have coped with the 4-year orders for grain sales to the state, and 19 farms have coped with the 5-year orders.

The oblast crop farmers' success has been promoted by the extensive assimilation of progressive technologies and lease contract forms of labor organization in the growing and harvesting of grain crops. The oblast has provided itself with all the high-quality seeds it needs. Sales of grain to the state continue.

CPSU Urges Saratov Strockraising Boost

PM0600121900 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question of "the organizational work of Saratov Oblast party, soviet, and economic organs in creating conditions conducive to highly productive work by stockraisers and increased production and purchases of livestock output."

The adopted resolution notes that Saratov Oblast's party, soviet, and economic organs have executed the CPSU Central Committee and government decisions designed to boost food production by paying increased attention to the development of livestock raising, above all by creating the conditions necessary for highly productive labor by workers in the sector. Practical steps are being carried out to assimilate the new economic relations, economic accountability, the collective and family contract, and leasing. A targeted program of social reorganization of the countryside is being carried out—25 percent more capital investment is being channeled into the nonproduction sphere of the agro-industrial complex this current year. The capacities of the construction industry and the local construction materials industry have been increased.

As a result the plans for construction of housing, schools, and preschool establishments have been considerably overfulfilled and the production environment improved. More than 1,000 centers for stockraisers have been set up on major stock units and complexes, and these have become the focus for organizational and educational work with people. Vocational and economic studies programs for cadres are being carried out there and medical, trade, cultural, and consumer services have been set up for stock unit workers.

The stepping up of organizational work among stockraisers and the concern shown to improve their working and living conditions are having a beneficial effect on the sector's development. The average annual output of meat and milk has gone up markedly and state orders for the delivery of these products to centralized stocks are being met. Pork, poultry, and eggs are on sale at state prices in Saratov and major industrial centers in the oblast. Cooperative trade in meat products has improved. Per capita consumption of them has gone up.

At the same time the CPSU Central Committee noted that the work being carried out in the oblast and the results obtained cannot be considered sufficient. The large production and economic potential created there has been far from fully utilized. Livestock and poultry productivity remains poor.

A considerable number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are failing to achieve the planned growth in output. In the last 2 years many of them have have failed to meet their contract commitments for the sale of livestock products to the state.

The main reason for the shortfall is that the requisite working and living conditions for stockraisers have not yet been created everywhere. A number of party committees and soviet and economic organs underestimate the importance of work with stockraising collectives to assimilate rational forms of management and the collective lease contract. Many leaders and specialists are resisting the switch to contract forms of labor organization by stockraisers and those who provide them with services.

Intensive techniques and progressive forms of labor organization are being introduced too slowly, and the proportion of manual labor remains high.

Many stock units in the oblast have not been provided with high-grade feed. The yield from feed crops, including those grown on irrigated land, is growing too slowly and natural hay fields and pasture are not being improved fast enough. Hay storehouses are virtually absent on farms, and feed quality is poor. Questions of feed processing have not been solved.

The capacities of livestock complexes and the potential of the subsidiary plots of industrial enterprises and organizations and citizens' personal plots are not being fully utilized to boost output. Not enough young livestock and poultry is being sold to the population.

Creating appropriate conditions for productive work by stockraisers during the winter period is not being given enough attention everywhere. In many regions of the oblast stock units are being made ready for winter too slowly. The repair of buildings, feed shops, technical equipment, and power- and water-supply systems is running behind. A large number of farms are going into the wintering period with a poor supply of feed.

Many party committees' organizational and political work with stockraising cadres is not up to the demands of restructuring. It lacks glasnost, and democratic management methods are not being used everywhere. A considerable number of workers are not taking part in production management. On a number of farms "stockraisers' days" are not held and labor collective councils are absent. Under 10 percent of team leaders and stock unit managers have been elected on a competitive basis. The potential of socialist competition and of the economic education and vocational training of workers is being poorly tapped. Only one stockraiser in three has a first-class certificate. The party stratum among sector workers is shrinking, the number of party groups on stock units has declined, and too few Communists and Komsomol members are sent to do stockraising work during the winter period.

Party committees and primary party organizations are not doing enough to increase the responsibility of the ideological aktiv, economic leaders, specialists, and soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers for the state of educational work and the propagation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committe July (1988) Plenum. In a good many instances they rarely visit stock unit labor collectives and fail to give prompt practical assistance when urgent tasks need to be resolved.

On the basis of the demands of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, the CPSU Central Committee recommended that Saratov Obkom, the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the oblast, city, and rayon soviets, and the leaders of economic organs concentrate stockraising workers' efforts on speeding up growth rates in the production of meat, milk, and other output in order not just to consolidate but to substantially improve the population's supply of foodstuffs and ensure their steady delivery to centralized stocks. To these ends it is recommended that active use be made of the experience built up in creating appropriate conditions for highly productive work for sector workers, that economic accountability, the collective contract, leasing, modern technology, and comprehensive mechanization be extensively introduced, and that efforts be made to cut the amount of manual labor. Special attention is to be paid to enhancing working and living conditions in the countryside as a most important sector in the successful solution of the food problem.

Party, soviet, and economic organs are instructed to take exhaustive measures to complete the harvesting of crops in a well-organized way, to speed up feed procurement, and to store and make rational use of all agricultural output.

The role of socialist competition in mobilizing stockraisers, specialists, and leaders to carry out well-organized overwintering of stock and obtain livestock output in excess of the present level in the upcoming winter

stalling period must be enhanced and greater glasnost and competitiveness imparted to this work. Medical, trade, cultural, and consumer services provided to stockraisers must be improved.

Union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, okrug committees, and raykoms must carry out the necessary organizational and political work in the labor collectives of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, and sectors that serve it to ensure the prompt preparation of stock units for winter and to create good conditions everywhere for highly productive labor by stockraisers. They must organize economic and vocational training for cadres and instruction in intensive production methods, economic accountability, and the lease contract in order to ensure a considerable increase in the production of meat, milk, and other products with the least expenditure, and to substantially improve the population's supply of foodstuffs on this basis.

Scientific

'Soyuz TM-5' Completes Flight, Lands 7 Sep

Malfunctions Explained

PM0609161788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondent B. Konovalov report: "Alarming Time in Space. Landing Postponed by 24 Hours Due to Malfunctions"]

[Text] Flight Control Center—There was no advance warning of the unexpected. Late on 5 September, Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad said a warm farewell to their comrades Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Valeriy Polyakov, who had switched roles from "Proton-3" to "Ocean-3" and stayed behind on board the Mir station together with the long-stay cosmonauts. The "Protons" returned to the Soyuz TM-5 spaceship which had taken the Soviet-Bulgarian crew into orbit, leaving their "fresh" transport spaceship with the "Oceans." The communications hatches were closed, the cosmonauts donned their spacesuits, and the spaceships undocked 6 September. Soyuz TM-5 began independent flight.

The globe-shaped living accommodation section detached itself at 0335 hours. Everything was running normally. The crew prepared to ignite the retrorocket. The Soviet scientific research vessel "Nevel," stationed in the South Atlantic, was ready to register the time of ignition.

News that the engine was ignited arrived at the flight control center. It appeared, however, that the ignition was irregular. When Soyuz TM-5 reentered the radio visibility zone, it was reported that an irregular situation had developed on board making it necessary to switch off the engine immediately.

It must be said that the Soyuz TM-5 spaceship usually operates automatically. It is controlled by an on-board computer complex. The cosmonauts switch to manual control only in case of necessity. This had to be done this time.

The flight control center decided to postpone landing by 3 hours. An express analysis showed that the malfunction of automatic operations was caused by an infrared vertical plotter. This sensor makes it possible for the spacecraft to orient itself by our planet's heat radiation.

While we were awaiting the "second attempt" at landing, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union A. Aleksandrov, an illustrious cosmonaut, commented on the events taking place.

"The terminator region, the borderline between light and darkness," he said, "at times creates complex conditions for the infrared sensor's work. Sun rays at an oblique angle can interfere with the sensor and the infrared vertical seems to get lost. This is what happened when Soyuz TM-5 entered the darkness. The computer perceives this as a loss of orientation and inhibits ignition of the retrorocket. A switchover to the spare infrared sensor produced a similar situation. The engine was not ignited. Some 7 minutes later the infrared vertical was reacquired and the computer gave orders to ignite the engine. But this was no longer acceptable to the crew because the spacecraft had flown 700-800 km further and the craft could have landed in China instead of near Arkalyk. This is why the 'Protons' took over control and switched off the engine 3 seconds after this belated ignition."

While these events were taking place, I unwittingly thought to myself: This is a rerun of the "Bulgarian bad luck." If you recall, there were propulsion system malfunctions during the flight of the first Bulgarian cosmonaut. At that time the spaceship was approaching to dock. During the second flight, this stage proceeded successfully. A. Solovyev, V. Savinykh, and A. Aleksandrov docked normally, performed the "Shipka" program and returned to earth on V. Titov's and M. Manarov's spaceship.

A unique situation developed this time, with the main craft captain and the double-up crew captain—V. Lyakhov in both cases—in control of the same ship in space. This time, too, there were surprises in store for the "Bulgarian spaceship" along the home stretch.

We all hoped that this was just a minor hitch and that the second attempt would end successfully. Soyuz TM-5 was given its orientation in advance and this time the orientation data was retained in the computer's memory independently of the infrared sensors' work.

...Suddenly we heard V. Lyakhov's voice coming through across the crackle of the airwaves and with some delay, since communications were made via a surface ship:

"Emergency.... The engine fired for 6 seconds.... It switched off.... Breach of stabilization regime...."

The time—6 seconds—was not long enough. The engine should have operated for 230 seconds and then the spaceship would have landed at the place it was expected.

It appeared that the engine had fired for just 6 seconds. Due to the fact that the program of the automatic system's work had not been amended promptly following the first malfunction, Lyakhov ignited the engine manually. But it soon switched itself off as a result of the lack of stabilization on the spaceship.

"We are postponing landing until tomorrow," flight controller Valeriy Ryumin announced, following an investigation of the situation. "Don't worry, so far nothing terrible has happened. The life support system is sufficient for 48 hours."

"How is your food situation?"

"No food," V. Lyakhov said.

"And the emergency stores?"

"There is some there, but why touch it? We'll manage. The WMS situation is worse," and he laughed.

WMS stands for waste management system. As you can see, the situation is far from simple, but the captain has not lost his sense of humor.

"Nothing like this has ever happened before," he said, even with a touch of pride.

Indeed, nothing like this has happened in the history of space travel. The situation is serious, but experts hope that the 7 September landing will proceed normally.

TASS on Causes of Delay

LD0609164088 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts completed their work on board the orbital complex Mir today. At two hours 55 minutes, Moscow time, the Soyuz TM-5 spaceship with Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Lyakhov and his Afghan colleague Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad on board was undocked from the orbital complex. However, an unforeseen situation developed subsequently.

Following the undocking, the spaceship began an independent flight at 03.35, and the globe-shaped living compartment was separated from it. The crew prepared for switching the motor to deceleration. However, owing to malfunctions in the orientation system, the spaceship's motor began to operate with a certain lag and it had to be switched off.

The cosmonauts changed over from automatic to manual control of the spaceship. The mission control centre decided to postpone landing for three hours. An analysis showed that the malfunction in the operation of automatic equipment had been caused by an infrared horizon sensor which enables the spaceship to orient itself in space by means of the thermal radiation of our planet.

Aleksandr Aleksandrov, a prominent Soviet cosmonaut, commenting on the incident, told journalists who gathered at the mission control centre that the automatic equipment of the spaceship had malfunctioned during its flight in the terminator—the dividing line between day and night.

"Sunrays prevented the sensor from coming into operation," the cosmonaut said. "The electronic computer regarded that as loss of orientation and inhibited the switching on of the deceleration motor. Upon the changeover to a stand-by sensor, a similar situation recurred. Only seven minutes later the infrared sensor came into action, and the electronic computer gave a command to decelerate. But that should not have been done: By that time the landing overshoot amounted to 700-800 kilometres, i.e., the spaceship, instead of the planned area in Kazakhstan, could have landed on Chinese territory. Therefore the cosmonauts cut off the motor."

Following that the cosmonauts began preparing for a second attempt. The Soyuz TM-5 had been oriented in advance: The orientation data were kept in the computer's memory independently of the operation of the infrared sensors. However, this time, too, the crew ran into bad luck: Upon operating for six seconds instead of 230, the motor unexpectedly stopped. It turned out that this happened because the programme for the operation of the automatic equipment had not been changed in time after the first setback. Following that, the mission control centre decided to postpone the crew's landing till September 7.

According to a report by the specialists of the mission control centre, life-sustaining resources of the cosmonauts will suffice for forty-eight hours. However, they are in for difficult hours in orbit till the designated time of landing: The descent vehicle in which they are now is not provided with everyday living facilities. The cosmonauts have an emergency stock of food which they have decided not to touch so far.

TV Commentary on Flight

LD0609200888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1737 GMT 6 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video commentary "on the flight of the Soviet-Afghan crew" by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov]

[Text] Hello, comrades. We have already become accustomed to everything going smoothly for us in space, and some people forget about the danger space research

nevertheless poses. Once again we have been shown convincingly how complex it is and how many irregular situations lie in wait for cosmonauts in orbit. Incidentally, none of these irregular situations has ever recurred in practice, and I recall this now from the whole history of Soviet cosmonautics. The situation was such:

Following the undocking, the spaceship began an independent flight at 0335, and the globe-shaped living compartment was separated from it. The crew prepared for switching the motor to deceleration. However, due to malfunctions in the orientation system, the spaceship's motor began to operate with a certain lag and it had to be switched off.

The cosmonauts switched from automatic to manual control of the spaceship. The mission control centre decided to postpone landing for 3 hours. An analysis showed that the malfunction in the operation of automatic equipment had been caused by an infrared horizon sensor, which enables the spaceship to orient itself in space by means of the thermal radiation of our planet.

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Following this the cosmonauts began preparing for a second attempt. The "Soyuz TM-5" had been oriented in advance: The orientation data were kept in the computer's memory independently of the operation of the infrared sensors. However, this time, too, the crew ran into bad luck: Upon operating for 6 seconds instead of 230, the motor unexpectedly stopped. It turned out that this happened because the program for the operation of the automatic equipment had not been changed in time after the first setback. Following that, the mission control center decided to postpone the crew's landing until 7 September.

I have just phoned the control center and spoken with the deputy leader of the flight, cosmonaut Vladimir Solovyev. He said that the landing is planned for 0400 Moscow time [0000 GMT on 7 September].

It is a coincidence that the cosmonauts Lyakhov and Mohmand are in the ship that carried the Soviet-Bulgarian crew to the "Mir" station. I remember that during the earlier Soviet-Bulgarian flight there was also an irregular situation—the cruise propulsion engine failed—but that was during the docking! Afterward the Bulgarian crew worked in space and returned to earth normally, but now the Bulgarian ship is acting up again.

So nothing terrible has happened. There is enough operational fuel in the ship for deceleration. The ship's life support system has been calculated for another 48 hours. It is true that there is no food on board because this was not expected to happen and food was not put away for such a situation. But there is a ration, an emergency food supply which the cosmonauts have so far refused to eat. They said they would hold out. Of course, they will experience discomfort because the "Soyuz TM-5" spaceship is a vehicle that is not equipped with many everyday conveniences, so to speak.

According to Vladimir Solovyev, the mood at the flight control center is a normal, working one. We hope that the mood of the Soviet-Afghan crew in orbit is the same. But of course the present minutes and hours are difficult ones for them.

Cosmonauts Undergo Checks

LD0709012688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet-Afghan space crew are on earth. Over to the flight control center, where our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev is waiting.

[Bezyayev] People have been waiting for this moment for a long time, until the red tape flashed out here, on the main screen of the large hall of the flight control center, the news that today, 7 September, at 0450 [0050 GMT] cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan, had landed at the designated area.

The Soviet-Afghan flight has been completed successfully. The agenda of its scientific work has been fulfilled in its entirety. It has just been reported that the comsonauts already have been evacuated from the descent vehicle, are in the hands of medical officers, and are undergoing their first post-flight checks. The search-and-rescue services have functioned well and the first medical information is now being collated. The fact is that Lyakhov already has been in space three times, whereas Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad has completed his first flight. The medicobiological experiments were, in fact, devoted to the question of man's adaptability to weightlessness and, on the other hand, to his readaptation following his return to earth.

It is too early at the moment to sum up the results of the flight; specialists will be talking about this a little later when the results of the research and the experiments are

interpreted, but one thing may be said now, and this is that in a few hours a warm welcome awaits the Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts at Baykonur.

Research Program Fulfilled

LD0709023088 Moscow TASS International Service 0145 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] [No dateline as received]—On 7 September 1988 at 0450 Moscow time, the international crew comprising Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan, returned to earth. Both cosmonauts are feeling fine after the landing.

As already reported, the landing of the "Soyuz TM-5" spacecraft planned for 6 September did not take place due to a premature automatic switching on of the descent program. A thorough analysis of the situation was carried out at the flight control center and the necessary decisions were made to ensure a normal landing of the spacecraft in the designated area.

At 0401 Moscow time on 7 September, on a command from the on-board automatic equipment, the spacecraft's engine was switched to deceleration. When the engine's work was completed, the descent apparatus of the "Soyuz TM-5" spacecraft separated from the instrument-assembly module, carried out a controlled descent into the atmosphere, and landed 160 km southeast of the town of Dzhezkazgan.

The flight program of the Soviet-Afghan international crew has been completed. Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their work in orbit.

During the course of the 6-day flight on board the "Mir" manned complex, the four Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts completely fulfilled the planned joint research and experiments.

A large amount of geophysical research—including photography, spectrometry, and visual observations of the Republic of Afghanistan—was carried out. The material obtained will help to develop various branches of the country's science and national economy, particularly its geology and agriculture.

A considerable portion of the international crew's work was devoted to medical experiments, which are part of a long-term program of scientific research being carried out on Soviet orbital manned complexes. With the aid of an apparatus created by Bulgarian specialists, a study was carried out of man's ability to work and the body's reactions during the period of adapting to weightlessness.

During the joint flight, several series of research in the field of the physics of the upper atmosphere were carried out according to a work program, experiments into the further study of the development of advanced plant life in conditions of weightlessness were continued, and work on the electrophoretic purification of medicines and the cultivation of monocrystals of protein compounds was carried out.

At all stages of the joint work, Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov, and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad performed precisely and harmoniously.

The successfully completed Soviet-Afghan space flight is further testimony to the friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

Space Official Comments on 'Soyuz' Mission

LD0709081188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] The descent apparatus of the spacecraft "Soyuz TM-5" landed today at 0450 in the scheduled region. Vladimir Lyakhov and citizen of Afghanistan Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad have completed their flight. Our correspondent asked USSR pilot-cosmonaut and deputy flight leader Vladimir Solovyev to comment on its results.

[Begin recording] [Solovyev] We are very glad that the flight is completed, because in the final stage it gave us several hours of worry. Now that the cosmonauts are on earth and, according to doctors' assessments, are feeling well, I must say that the flight is indeed over. The program was quite interesting. It lasted 7 days, and the cosmonauts carried out all the planned work. Moreover, we now have situations we have not met with before. One of the crew members, Dr Valeriy Polyakov, has remained on board the Mir station and will continue the medical experiments he began during the Soviet-Afghan expedition.

[Unidentified correspondent] You are deputy flight leader. Was it easy to work with these cosmonauts or not? And [word indistinct] it's not for nothing that there are psychologists on the staff of the flight control center?

[Solovyev] I have to say that psychologists do not have very much to do with visiting expeditions because 7 days, a week's flight, is quite routine for us. Concerning the main crew, the Oceans, we have quite reliable contacts with them in spite of the fact that they have been in flight for a very long time, 9 months; and I have to say that they have taken care of the visiting expedition actively and carried out all planned operations. Unfortunately, the machinery sometimes caused us a number of problems and we had to resolve them jointly with the Oceans and waste more time resolving these problems. When it became necessary to postpone by 1 day the expedition's descent and return to earth, there was quite serious, intensive work; and in the final stage of this descent I would even say that the work was extremely tense and measured—difficult work. I have to say that we are looking to the future with optimism.

Tomorrow we will carry out a redocking at the Mir station, and then we are expecting a freight craft, a docking with the freight craft. And we will be beginning preparations at full pace for the next international expedition, the Soviet-French one.

[Correspondent] And what do you think? Which will be the most difficult—this flight or the coming one?

[Solovyev] Probably the Soviet-French flight. It will be longer simply in terms of time. If, in the case of the Soviet-Afghan expedition, such intensive work lasted just 7 days—and we had no serious operations comparable, for example, with space walks—then when we have the Soviet-French expedition lasting 1 month, we will have to work very vigorously, in a responsible manner. I imagine that this will be very interesting work which will yield impressive results. [end recording]

Cosmonauts Receive Government Awards

LD0709094388 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has conferred Soviet Government awards on Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Lyakhov and Afghan research cosmonauts Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad and Muhammed Dauran Ghulam Ma'sum, it has been announced here.

Lyakhov will receive the order of the October Revolution and Mohmand has been given the title of hero of the Soviet Union and will receive the order of Lenin and the gold star medal for the successful fulfilment of the space mission on board the orbital research complex Mir (Peace) and courage and heroism they displayed during the flight.

Ma'sum has been awarded the order of peoples' friendship for active participation in support work connected with the Soviet-Afghan space mission.

'Cosmos-1967' Earth Satellite Launched 6 Sep

LD0609141088 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched an earth satellite of the Cosmos series using a Soyuz booster rocket.

Cosmos-1967 is carrying research equipment intended for the exploration of outer space.

The satellite has been placed in the orbit with the following parameters:
—Initial period of revolution—90.3 minutes,
—Maximum distance from the earth's surface—409 kilometres,
—Minimum distance—206 km,
—Inclination of the orbit—72.9 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Scientists Discuss New Space Observatory

LD0609135388 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—An orbital astrophysical observatory, "Spectrum-Roentgen-Gamma", which is scheduled to be launched late in 1992—early in 1993, will enable scientists to obtain new data on the structure and evolution of the outermost objects of the universe, of which there is limited knowledge.

An international scientific committee began its work at the Space Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences yesterday. About a hundred scientists from the USSR and over a dozen other countries will discuss the composition and characteristics of the observatory's scientific equipment.

Alongside Soviet specialists, colleagues from Australia, Bulgaria, Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Denmark, Italy, the United States, Poland, Finland, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia and the European Space Agency intend to take part in developing an array of instruments and drafting the scientific programme of the flight.

"Six telescopes and other scientific equipment installed aboard the new Soviet satellite 'Spektr' will provide information on the galactic sources of x-radiation, supermassive black holes in the nuclei of active galaxies and on intergalactic gas", says Rashid Syunyayev, leading Soviet specialist in space astronomy, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

"The giant size of the surface of the focussing mirrors of x-ray telescopes, the wide power range, the ability to project x-ray images in a wide field and carry out spectroscopy open up new horizons in cosmological research. The weight of the scientific instruments will total some two and a half tonnes".

The scientist noted that the study of x-ray and gamma rays emitted from space will make it possible to build up significantly the knowledge of the universe. These types of radiation are absorbed by the upper layers of the atmosphere, therefore, they can be explored only with the aid of space-borne observatories. X-radiation is generated in the "boiler" of atomic and nuclear transformations which occur in space at temperatures not less than half a million degrees. For comparison, one can say that the visible solar light is radiated by the surface heated to five and a half thousand degrees. So, the most "turbulent" phenomena in the universe can be observed in the x-ray range.

Several discoveries have already been made using Soviet-made telescopes. For instance, the explosion of a supernova in the large magellanic cloud was detected with the aid of the astrophysical module Kvant which

was docked to Mir station in April, 1987. The space observatory Astron, which has been working in orbit for five and a half years, was instrumental in some of the most important advances of modern astronomy.

Military

Sales of MiG-37 'Stealth' Aircraft Urged

LD0509220088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1910 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] The traditional annual air show opened in Farnborough, England. Taking part in it are 675 private and government companies and organizations from dozens of countries. They are showing more than 100 units of the most diverse aviation technology of both civil and military designation. Soviet MiG-29 fighters and the world's biggest transport plane, the AN-124, are being shown for the first time. A brilliant moment was the flight of the MiG-29, whose pilot displayed a high degree of skill. The AN-124 was unfortunately unable to demonstrate its qualities: During its take off run there was a sudden loud bang and a small flame appeared from one of the engines. Although everything ended happily, the crew of the plane decided to postpone the flight.

So, the MiG-29, which is not inferior to the best U.S. F-15, F-16, and F-18 fighters, will presumably find buyers, and the USSR Defense Ministry will make a substantial foreign currency addition to the state budget. This addition probably could be bigger if buyers were offered more modern equipment. For instance, this MiG-37 [designation as heard]. [video shows Tsvetov picking up a model of a fighter plane from his desk top] In our country, it is still shrouded in a thick and heavy veil of secrecy, but in Japan children are already playing with this plane. I bought it in Tokyo in the shop known as Kiddieland, that is, Detskiy Mir.

If we really have not managed to keep it secret and we are guarding what has long been no secret to the whole world, why not in fact offer for sale a sensational piece of merchandise, the MiG-37, or the Soviet Stealth [preceding word in English], as it is known—the plane invisible to radar? [video shows Farnborough air displays, AN-124 on the ground, and model MiG-37]

Yazov To Oversee 'Autumn-88' Excercises

LD0409105888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1019 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)—It is planned to conduct command-staff exercises with designated troops (forces) under the agreed name of "Autumn-88" in the second half of September 1988 on the territory of the Ukrainian and the Moldavian SSR and the Black Sea waters adjacent to it, under the leadership of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister.

The exercises are being conducted with the aim of working out questions of combat coordination and the mutual interaction of staff.

Naval Maneuvers in Baltic Sea Set for 6-9 Sep

LD0609180088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1723 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Tallinn, 6 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reports:

From 6-9 September the Baltic Fleet is conducting tactical exercises in the northeastern sector of the Baltic Sea, the aim of which is to further improve the tactical maneuvers of various components of the fleet's forces. Thirty-two warships, 26 aircraft and helicopters, and about 2,500 men will take part in the exercises. Admiral of the Fleet Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, is directing the exercises.

Military observers from Poland and the GDR, as well as a group of Soviet and foreign journalists, will observe the ships' operations. On 7 September journalists will be given the opportunity to look around the Baltic Fleet warships—the missile cruiser "Groznyy," the escort vessel "Bditelnyy," and a missile launch. After this, press representatives will observe at sea the operations of submarine forces: search and attack of a submarine and a submarine counterattack. On 8 September they will see an operation with ships being taken through a mine field and repulsing an enemy aircraft attack.

As is known, the USSR does not conduct naval maneuvers in the North Sea or the western sector of the Baltic Sea. Exercises are conducted only in the area of the USSR's naval bases in the Baltic.

Late Defense Minister Ustinov Memoirs Published

PM0609131588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[Candidate of Historical Sciences Major General L. Ivashov "Book Review": "Victory Was Also Forged Behind the Lines"]

[Text] Readers have been waiting with understandable interest for the Military Publishing House's recent publication of Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov's memoirs "For the Sake of Victory" (Footnote) (D.F. Ustinov. "Vo Imya Pobedy". Moscow, Military Publishing House, 1988, 320 pp. R1.70). They were attracted by the figure of the author and his destiny. He was born into a worker's family, experienced hunger and need, and worked at a machine tool plant. Yet before he was 33 he was already people's commissar for armaments. And in the most difficult years, the years of the Great Patriotic War, he bore a huge responsibility. The front was waiting for and demanding weapons...

The book contains many things that are also instructive for our time—the time of restructuring. The front did not provide a single day's rest. The things that the front needed had to be made immediately. And to a very tight schedule.

The development of mass production of arms and munitions, the restructuring of the economy to a war footing, the difficulties of evacuating the industrial base to the country's east, and the intensive confrontation with the enemy in the sphere of the creation and buildup of weapons output—all these aspects of the titanic activity of party and people are clearly reflected in the writings of the people's commissar.

Although we prepared for war, the writer points out, many measures to strengthen the country's defense capability had not been completed. From the very first day events at the front started developing in a direction that was very unfavorable for us. Losses of arms and munitions were extremely heavy, and hundreds of enterprises manufacturing them were in the combat zone.

The war reduced the time available, accelerated labor rhythm many times over, blurred the distinction between day and night, and ruled out everything of marginal or secondary importance. In wind, rain, and severe frosts millions of working people installed machine tools and equipment and started producing output, sometimes without waiting for the walls of buildings to be completed.

The memoirs cite numerous examples of Soviet people's labor heroism. The names of workers, engineers, designers, and production organizers are cited with great warmth. It was thanks to them—working people behind the lines—that an entire industrial power was relocated and deployed in the eastern regions in the shortest possible period and the country's economy switched to a war footing. Their hands and their talent produced terrible weapons unequaled anywhere in a record short period. It took Soviet designers 18 days to create the D-1 152-mm light howitzer. This was a fantastic timescale. "If there were world records for high-speed project manangement," the author writes, "the creation of the D-1 152-mm howitzer would undoubtedly take pride of place among them."

The provision of first-rate weapons to Soviet troops during the war came as a complete surprise to the enemy. The secret of this success lay, as the author points out, in the correct and complete utilization of the advantages of the socialist economy, which made it possible to focus efforts on resolving defense tasks during the period of wartime tribulations. All components in the chain of orders from the front, scientific laboratories, design bureaus, and production were sound and closely interconnected.

Objectively assessing everything that was done to supply the Army and Navy with arms and military equipment, the author also points to a number of mistakes that were committed in resolving this most important task. Thus, Soviet troops experienced severe shortages of antitank systems and mortars from the onset of hostilities as a result of the unjustified abandonment of the production of certain artillery systems on the eve of the war. There was a shortage of new types of aircraft and tanks. There was only a small number of backup enterprises producing arms and military hardware in the country's eastern regions....

D. Ustinov's book has been written for a mass readership. It convincingly reveals the Soviet people's great feats in defending the motherland.

Nationalities Problem in Military Discussed

PM0609154588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 27 Aug-2 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 25 Aug 88) pp 1, 2

[Interview with military sociologist Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Colonel Yu. Deryugin conducted by correspondent Z. Filatov: "...But Problems Remain. On 'Regional Cliques' [zemlyachestvo], and the Russian Language in the Army"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction; last paragraph is editorial comment]

[Text] We have all grown accustomed to the fact that articles devoted to our army appear on the eve of various celebrations. But life in the troops with all its problems and difficulties, joys and sorrows does not come to a halt on holidays or nonworking days. So now, when young draftees and those recently demobilized are only just getting involved in army life and civilian life respectively, the number of readers' letters in our mailbag asking us to talk about today's army and its problems has increased.

Our correspondent Z. Filatov met with military sociologist Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Colonel Yu. Deryugin and asked him to answer readers' questions.

Filatov: Everyone is well aware that soldiers of practically all nationalities serve in the Soviet Army. What problems arise in this connection?

Deryugin: Our army is indeed multiethnic and, moreover, today an increase in the multiethnic nature of the Armed Forces can be seen. Eight years ago there were people of 5-7 nationalities serving in companies and batteries, whereas now the number of nationalities has risen to 9-18. In the early eighties the army numbered 20-30 nationalities, and today 25-37.

The Armed Forces reflect the demographic situation in the country like a model of society, and if it is marked by an increase in the population of the Central Asian and

Transcaucasian regions, this also makes an impact on the structure of the army. So, whereas 28 percent of conscripts in 1980 were from these regions, 37 percent of them are in 1988.

That is why one of the most important problems that we never faced before is the profound analysis and consideration of the national psychology of the personnel. For instance, soldiers from the Central Asian and Transcaucasian regions are more inclined to join together than the representatives of the Slavic peoples. There are also substantial differences in temperament, specific habits, ideas, opinions, and so on. This is very important to take into consideration when making up crews, teams, and subunits.

Filatov: So, officers must have the requisite knowledge of psychology?

Deryugin: Quite right, today insistently requires that officers possess method skills enabling them to work effectively with representatives of all nationalities. You can't get by without psychology and sociology here. A center for studying public opinion among servicemen has already begun its work in the army, and a whole series of other measures aimed at improving officer cadres' sociological and psychological education are planned.

Filatov: In connection with the change in the ethnic structure of the Army and Navy, is the role of the Russian language increasing?

Deryugin: Indisputably. The Russian language is the language of interethnic relations in our country. There is no other sphere in which knowledge of Russian is so important as the Armed Forces. All military regulations, directions, and instructions are written in Russian, soldiers are trained in combat skills in Russian, and commands are issued and orders given in it. Unfortunately, it must be pointed out that year by year the number of draftees with a poor knowledge of Russian increases. Of course, we are trying to even out the situation, but this takes time, and we have only just enough time to train real soldiers and true fighters in the full sense of the word.

Filatov: What is the reason for this situation? Are schools to blame?

Deryugin: To some extent, yes. But there is also another reason. It is a problem of upbringing rather than education. In my opinion, schools, yes, and other organizations are working in an obviously inadequate fashion to mold in young people a firm and active interest in the Russian language. It is difficult to resolve the problem in question without that.

Filatov: But what about conflicts arising from ethnic problems. What can be said about this?

Deryugin: I often encounter certain "authoritative" opinions on the army, usually based on individual instances that people try to pass off as a trend. But the truth can only be established as a result of scientific study. Conflicts within a group can be between soldiers of different nationalities, but that doesn't mean that they are always based on some national hostility. More often they are based on real vital conflicts linked with daily life and psychological incompatibility, a definite emotional explosion.

If we are referring to the main reason, I am convinced that the reason for most conflicts today lies in the extremely low standard not just of interethnic relations but of relations in general. Particular attention is now being devoted to resolving the problem in question in the Army and Navy. But you yourselves understand that stagnant phenomena cannot be overcome right away: It takes time and tireless work.

Filatov: Readers' letters mention regional cliques within the army. Is that also a phenomenon?

Deryugin: Evidently it is a question of microgroups existing in the structure of troop collectives on a national basis. A normal and logical phenomenon in itself. You and I are glad to meet people from our native region in life. But the task consists in not permitting the national exclusivity and isolation of these microgroups and their negative aspects.

Filatov: A great deal has been said recently about nonregulation relations and "bullying."

Deryugin: I will start by saying that the main efforts have been concentrated on creating a united front to combat this phenomenon. In principle this task is being resolved successfully. This has resulted in a reduction in the number of cases of nonregulation relations in the crime structure. In the last 6 months alone the number has fallen by one-third.

But it is not so much a matter of statistics as of a change of consciousness. Today soldiers feel that we have begun to take the "old-hand syndrome" [starikovshchina] firmly in hand. Officers are increasingly convinced that this evil can be vanquished. This constitutes a definite change for the better. But the problem has still not been fully resolved. Of course, even an isolated case of jeering or mockery arouses and will arouse just indignation.

Filatov: What do you see as the roots of the problem?

Deryugin: There are many of them and they are quite deep-seated. The external causes are stagnant phenomena in society, which have given rise to various negative processes. Schools, vocational and technical colleges, and technical schools also have their own "bullying." The increase in consumerism and the feminization of men are related to this...

Other causes are concerned with internal army conditions. Violation of the regulation life style, inadequate vigor on the part of the sergeants in combating "bullying," elements of formalism in educative work, and so on.

Today military psychologists and sociologists are elaborating special rules for this purpose, but real preventive measures must begin prior to joining the army. Many draftees are inadequately trained for service in the army. Not only physically. Studies have revealed that most of them aim to submit unconditionally to negative traditions. That is why it is important to try to ensure that moral preparations for service are stepped up. Who must tackle this? Everyone—families, schools, the Komsomol, DOSAAF, and military commissariats. Only by common efforts can we conquer "bullying."

From the editorial office: Judging by the military sociologist's answers, positive changes are taking place in the struggle against negative phenomena in the army. Sociological studies are being carried out and a quest is under way for the most effective measures to eradicate nonregulation relations. However, we believe that suggestions that the army's ailments are society's ailments are unconstructive. Ailments must be cured, and the sooner the better. The army itself can do a great deal in educating people. We hope that readers will continue their discussion of the army, and we await letters and proposals from them.